

Career on the Cusp: The Professional Identity of Teacher Educators

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by

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Abstract

This thesis aims to take a step or two towards a theoretical model of where teacher education ‘stands’ as a social practice, a career, a discipline, and a profession. It does this through the specific lens of ‘professional identity’, a concept often referred to in the teaching and teacher education literature but one that is also often ill-defined and seldom made the empirical focus of the studies reported.

Taking as its starting point a definition of professional identity as ‘the valued professional self’, the thesis recounts the findings of a phenomenological study of the professional self-image and identities of nine preservice teacher educators from six different institutions in Aotearoa New Zealand. The research involved a grounded analysis of the transcripts of some 39 extended interviews with the teacher educators, conducted over a five-year period.

The period during which the thesis was written has been one of considerable educational change in New Zealand, and one little short of an upheaval in relation to the institutional structuring of teacher education nation-wide. During the period of the study colleges of education with a century and a half of history as independent, stand-alone and specialist institutions, have gone through a complex process of merging with their local universities, while neo-liberal reforms of all tertiary institutions have placed particular strains and constraints on the pedagogical structures and processes that are typically implemented in teacher education programmes. Being on the brink of a new era in teacher education has thus brought teacher educators’ identity - their place in the educational world and what it is that they and their field fundamentally ‘stand for’ - both into relief, and for some, into question.

The teacher educators in the study followed a path into teacher education typical in New Zealand but perhaps increasingly untypical in many other countries - from practitioner to academic - and in one sense it is an account of how they severally and collectively have come to terms with their own identities as professionals during that journey and at a time of considerable institutional turmoil. But the research also attempts to get beyond their individual stories to address broader issues of how one might best ‘get at’ a professional identity in the first place, as a matter of interview analysis and method, whether or not there *are* some distinctive but common elements that might distinguish the professional identity of the particular group we call teacher educators, and if there are, then what those distinctive characteristics might be.

The research studied the teacher educators' professional identities through several related lenses or perspectives that taken together might be seen as constituting or covering the key facets of the phenomenon we call a professional identity. It interrogates their storied accounts of how and why they became teacher educators: their professional motivations, goals and career histories. It also examines through a snapshot in time what they saw as the occupational scope of their jobs and the various roles they undertook, and the relative emphasis or value priority given by individuals to each job or role. Through a third lens, it describes and theorises the particular knowledge base(s), pedagogies and professional expertise they felt they needed to do the job effectively, and what they saw as teacher educators' distinctive 'expertise'. Using metaphor analysis, it also explores the emotionalities associated with the various personae they found themselves 'being' as teacher educators - the highs and things that gave them 'heart', along with the tensions, incongruities and dilemmas associated with 'being' teacher educators. A final perspective explores their sense of collective identity as a professional community and the various other professional groups with whom they felt more, or less, collective affinity.

The thesis concludes by proposing a conceptual model of teacher educators' professional identity as an identity that overlaps with that of teachers in schools as well as with that of academics in other fields, but which is nevertheless distinguishable from both these. In particular, it is simultaneously more multifaceted in scope than the former and more performative in nature than the latter. The study suggests that teacher educators' professional identity may be particularly characterised by the *comprehensiveness of its specialist expertise*, by a strong sense of *ethical commitment and other-centredness*, by a conception of teacher education as the *embodied enactment of its own knowledge-base* and expertise, and, ultimately, by an *abiding ambivalence* about teacher educators' and teacher education's place in the world - the professional discomfort that characterises working across 'the spaces in between'.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

A Career on the Cusp

The empirical work for this thesis began six years ago when it became clear to me that teacher education as a career in New Zealand was on, perhaps already over, the brink of a dramatic reformation. It was becoming obvious that teacher education would no longer be able to remain in the specialist, stand-alone colleges of education where it had been located for over a century. It seemed inevitable that existing state-funded teacher education institutions would be restructured and amalgamated into the universities. The per-student state funding subsidy for teacher education had almost halved over a 10-year interval, the period of study required for some teaching qualifications had been cut by up to a quarter, and class sizes were increasing between three and tenfold for most courses. At that time, I had been ‘doing the job’ of a teacher educator for over a decade, and I was working in the last of the stand-alone colleges of education to merge with their local university. Like many of my colleagues, I was facing daily the myriad subtle consequences of policy reforms and imminent institutional restructuring, all of which were causing me to reflect deeply on the role of teacher educator as I conceptualised and practised it.

I had also, at this time, become part of the Self-Study of Teacher Education Practices (S-STEP) Special Interest Group (SIG) of the American Educational Research Association (AERA). Reading the stories of other teacher educators challenged me to become more explicit about my own values, beliefs and practice, and encouraged me to articulate these overtly in order to make them available for the scrutiny of the profession more generally. LaBoskey (2004a), in the *International Handbook of Self-Study of Teaching and Teacher Educator Practices*, defines self-study as a methodology for studying professional practice settings, which has the “following characteristics: it is self initiated and focused; it is improvement aimed; it is interactive; it includes multiple, mainly qualitative methods and defines validity as a validation process based in trustworthiness” (p. 816). As someone deeply interested in my teaching role, being part of a community with others intent on sharing and researching their problems of practice with the aim of improving their teaching and other professional activities held immediate appeal.

I was drawn by both of these experiences not only to want to understand better my own teacher education practices, but also to locate more clearly my experiences alongside the experiences of other colleagues internationally. I wanted to gain a deeper understanding of

how I conceptualised my own professional identity as a teacher educator and how I made meaning of my own practices. I needed to know how these aligned or contrasted with the identities and experiences of others involved in teacher education, especially those in different cultural or institutional contexts.

Reading the international literature highlighted for me the very different contexts within which the work of teacher education is carried out. My first S-STEP Castle Conference, for example, reinforced my notions of differences in context, situation and practice, particularly as I was one of only two New Zealand registrants. I was teaching in a specialist college of education; most of the other teacher educators at the conference worked in university education departments. Very few of my classes had over 30 students, and I taught mainly in interactive, workshop environments which required me to work a large number of face-to-face hours. I, in most instances, visited my own professional studies students on their teaching practicums during their one-year graduate programme. Most of the other teacher educators at the conference appeared to teach fewer, larger classes, often in lecture formats, often in undergraduate programmes, and few seemed to mentor students on practicum as a major part of their role.

And, yet, I was just as struck by the commonalities in our fundamental beliefs, goals, purposes, and professional dispositions as I was by these differences in our institutional contexts and cultures. We in New Zealand, it seemed, were struggling with ‘leaving behind’ the very professional spaces that teacher educators in many other Western countries, for example, were trying to ‘get back to’: we both were trying to get to the same point, professionally, even if from almost diametrically opposite ends of a continuum. Despite the obvious differences in the ways in which teacher education had historically been, and was still at that time constituted in New Zealand compared to elsewhere, I could ‘identify’ with them, and they with me. A commitment to understanding more fully aspects of our pedagogical practices was a strong, common thread in all our presentations. All of us were committed to contributing to a scholarship of teacher education; all of us were committed to studying our own practice in ways that were not just storied but also made these ways open to peer scrutiny and theoretical critique. Such conversations led me to wonder if what we had in common might constitute a shared *identity* as teacher educators.

I originally chose the title for the study, *Career on the Cusp*, as an acknowledgement of teacher education in New Zealand as a career in flux. Such flux is fundamentally transforming the culture of how - and how well - teacher education is provided; this change is generating something of an identity crisis for all of those who work with or within that

culture. As I began to read more widely in the field, I quickly became aware of other shades of meaning and implications for the metaphor I had chosen. The neo-liberal political and economic reformism that has dominated the politics of higher education in the last two decades was trailing in its wake institutional amalgamations, staff cutbacks and redundancies, cultures of compliance, and general fiscal retrenchment in teacher education. It was also impacting on pedagogies and modes of teaching delivery, shifting occupational roles and priorities, reviving arguments of what constitutes the ‘core business’ of the academy, and increasing calls for a critical re-examination of the goals and purposes of teacher education.

However, it was not only the nature, the location and the delivery of teacher education in New Zealand that was on the brink or ‘cusp’ of change. International literature relating to teacher education had very firmly positioned the work of teacher educators on a different kind of ‘cusp’ - the margins of academic life - mainly because of its continued strong affiliation with the teaching profession and its practice. Labaree (2005), for example, characterises teacher education as the “impossible job” in a profession that has struggled with “bad luck” in its history and “bad company” in its occupational associations - the former as a result of the discipline’s late arrival as parvenu into the academy, when all the “top jobs are gone”, and the latter in respect of its association with the “low status” profession of teaching (p. 187). As with school teaching, teacher education involves engagement in difficult and complex practices that look easy and simple, and in the academy it is often perceived as a profession that people do not wish to be identified with if they value their academic careers. ‘On the cusp’, in this sense then, connotes not only the idea of a career in flux, a profession in the process of re-formation, but also the idea of a professional life spent on the ‘verge’, of a community on the periphery, the edges, or the fringes, rather than at the centre.

‘On the cusp’ also suggests, for me, a profession that is increasingly seen as ‘betwixt and between’ a number of apparent binary divides in the discourses of the academy and education policy. ‘On the cusp’ could, in this context, be taken to imply a career in the ‘gaps’ between the school and the academy, between theory and practice, between teaching and research, and between the ‘real world’ and the ‘ivory tower’. Each of these apparent binaries is addressed to a greater or lesser degree in the thesis.

In times of change such as that just described, professional groups begin to ask more consciously than at other times why they are doing the job they do, what they, and others, value in what they do, and where their chosen field ‘stands’ in relation to other fields and professions. Such times offer, in short, fertile opportunity for discussions of professional

identity, which is the key theoretical framework I use in this thesis to analyse the stories of a group of New Zealand teacher educators over a period of several years.

My aim in conducting this study, then, is to offer a critical empirical examination of the professional identity of a group of New Zealand educators. This aim was informed by a desire not only to give a voice to an educational community who (at least in English-speaking jurisdictions internationally) see themselves as professionally marginalised and neglected, but also, and more importantly, to gain a deeper understanding through empirical investigation, of the professional lives of those who choose to work in the ‘spaces between’ the professional worlds of the school, the academy and educational policy.

I was also motivated to conduct this study by the paucity of research about teacher educators in New Zealand and, indeed, internationally. This gap in the literature has been highlighted on many occasions and in many publications over several decades. This study is thus timely in its purpose to open up for scrutiny what it is like to be a New Zealand teacher educator and a New Zealand teacher educator living in complex and changing times. What are the subjective realities of this experience?

Another aim for the thesis is to take steps towards developing a theoretical model of where teacher educators and teacher education ‘stand’ - as a community of practice, as a career or discipline, or as a ‘profession’. If teacher educators are a community of practice, what is the nature of the ‘communality’ that characterises that community, and what ‘commonality’ is there in that practice? If teacher education is, indeed, a profession, just what, exactly, does it ‘profess’?

International Studies of Teacher Educators

For too long the demanding and important work of teacher educators has been inadequately understood and acknowledged. (Turney & Wright, 1990, p. 6)

The literature on teacher education has burgeoned during the past four decades ... a great deal is now known about almost all aspects of the teacher education endeavour. However, a noticeable gap in this rich mosaic of knowledge relates to teacher educators themselves. (Martinez, 2008, p. 36)

An axiom in the research literature on schools and schooling is that ‘teachers matter’. One major synthesis of over 800 meta-analyses relating to student achievement in schools, for example, concludes that “... teachers are among the most powerful influences in learning” (Hattie, 2009, p. 238). Another claims that up to 59% of variance in student performance is

directly attributable to differences in teachers and classes (Alton-Lee, 2003). There is also a robust literature highlighting the importance within schooling of teacher thinking, knowledge and decision-making (Elbaz, 1983, 1991; Schon, 1983; Shulman, 1987), teacher identity (Connelly & Clandinin, 1999; Day, 2004; Korthagen, 2004), the professional/personal nexus in teaching (Goodson & Hargreaves, 1996; MacLure, 1993a; Palmer, 1998), and the socio-cultural aspects of classroom culture (Bishop & Glynn, 2003; Darling-Hammond, 1997; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Nuthall, 1999). In other words, what school teachers think, what they value, the pedagogies they believe in, who they are as personalities, and how they relate to learners and to one another as a professional community *matters* in so far as they affect student outcomes. By extension, it is logical to assume that the same aspects *matter* in relation to teacher education. If the quality of teaching in schools is determined in large part by who teachers are and how and what they teach, then the quality of teacher education is also likely to be similarly affected by who teacher educators are and how and what they teach.

Almost a generation ago, Lanier and Little (1986, p. 528) claimed that “teachers of teachers - what they are like, what they do, what they think - are typically overlooked in studies of teacher education”. The 1986 edition of the *Handbook of Research on Teachers* (Wittrock, 1986) has just one chapter dealing with research on teacher education, and this paints a gloomy, deficit picture of teacher education generally. It is depicted as easy, unchallenging, non-intellectual, not attracting capable people and occurring in an environment that makes it difficult to be scholarly. All of these factors helped explain why teacher education was seen at that time “as a marginal part of the university, criticized for its lack of rigor, but discouraged from trying to be anything else” (Lanier & Little, 1986, p. 565). Two later versions of the *Handbook of Research on Teacher Education* (Houston, 1990; Sikula, Buttery & Guyton, 1996) are equally scant on the subject of teacher education again with only one chapter apiece devoted to those who do the work of teacher education.

Ironically, despite the fact that there has since been something of a resurgence in interest in teacher education as a subject of both policy debate and research, the gap in relation to the empirical studies of teacher educators themselves persists. While a great deal more is now known about many aspects of teacher education, especially its contested curriculum (Darling-Hammond & Bransford, 2005) and the formal practices of teacher educators (Loughran, 2006; Loughran, Hamilton, LaBoskey, & Russell, 2004), there are still marked gaps in the literature:

Little systematic research has been undertaken to inform us about fundamental characteristics of the professional lives of this occupational group - their qualifications, their recruitment, their career pathways into and through the academy, their teaching and research practices, the problems they encounter, or their professional development needs and practices. (Martinez, 2008, p. 35)

The 2009 (third edition) *Handbook on Research in Teacher Education* also largely ignores those who do the job of teacher education, although there is a chapter that problematises the location of teacher education (Labaree, 2008). Much of the rhetoric around teacher educators' status and roles in the empirical research that does exist, moreover, tends to be unflattering and pejorative in tone (Ducharme & Ducharme, 1996; Tischer & Wideen, 1990). Ducharme (1993), for example, attributes some of the difficulty in defining or identifying teacher educators as a community to the fact that few academics actually identify themselves as such, because of their low status and their recent arrival in the academy: "I once described them as 'being among the least welcome guests at the educational lawn party of the establishment of higher education'. Not only are they the least welcome, they are also among the most recent guests" (p. 3). Zeichner (1999) suggests that others with a stake in education regard teacher educators as "peripheral to the educational agenda" (p. 6) and lacking in political impact or agency. Their "voices", observes Acker (1997, p. 67), "have been ignored". Zeichner (1999) also claims that policy decision-making relating to teacher educators rarely involves those who practise the job of teacher education.

One might assume, given the many comments over the last three decades in international literature about the invisibility and low or contradictory status of teacher educators within the academic "firmament", their dubious position "inside/outside the ivory tower" (Maguire, 2000, p. 149), and a recognition that their voices are seldom heard, that the literature would contain a wealth of empirical research on them as a professional group. However, as with other areas of research relating to teacher educators, this is not the case.

In terms of what most needs to be known about teacher educators, it seems that even a basic knowledge of the social demographics of teacher educators as a professional collective is lacking in most jurisdictions. According to Lanier and Little (1986, p. 528), "... even researchers are not exactly sure who they are". They remain, writes Ducharme (1993, p. 3) an "ill-defined and poorly understood group". However, most calls for new research on teacher educators consist less of calls for such quantitative demographics than of calls for rich accounts of their professional lives and work, especially those that might contribute to an

emerging theory of the pedagogy of teacher education, or to a scholarship of teacher education more generally through building conceptually, theoretically and methodologically on the work of others (Loughran, 2008; Zeichner 2007).

New Zealand Studies of Teacher Educators

Given the dearth of research relating to the professional lives of teacher educators internationally, a similar gap in New Zealand research is hardly surprising. This same scarcity applies to New Zealand research about teacher education generally. In the first systemic overview of the national research on teacher education (Cameron & Baker, 2004), the authors concur with McGee's (1999) criticism that small scale 'one shot' studies by individuals, some team research and contracted development-type work characterised research on teacher education in New Zealand. Cameron and Baker argue that the area remains fragmented, somewhat directionless, constrained by lack of funding and methodologically problematic. Of the 127 empirical research studies that Cameron and Baker reviewed, only four focused on teacher educators, and each had a relatively narrow focus within that. These four focused on what makes a good lecturer in the eyes of students (Fox, 2000), teacher educators' assessment practices (Hawe, 2001), the different views of academic work held by teacher educators working in a university compared with those working in the nearby college of education (Gilbert and Cameron, 2002), and the transition from teacher to teacher educator (Whatman, 1997). According to Cameron and Baker, many unanswered questions still lurk around the work, beliefs and conceptualisations of teacher educators in the New Zealand context:

There is little research to provide information on how teachers experience and negotiate the transition from teacher to teacher educator. How well do they transplant to their new culture? How do they conceptualise their roles? How do they learn to make the transition from a teacher of children to a teacher of adults? Are there cultural adjustments that they have had to make? How do they learn how to teach others to teach? How do institutions support new teacher educators to develop the skills to engage successfully with adults? How are they supported to learn more about how children learn in different curriculum areas, and to develop the pedagogical content knowledge to assist student teachers to develop curriculum understandings? What are student teacher perspectives on the role of teacher educators? (p. 35)

In their interpretive summary at the end of their chapter on teacher educators - ironically a 'chapter' of only three pages - Cameron and Baker (2004) reiterate the need for further research on teacher educators. They also signal other fertile areas of research:

There is a need for more research on the different professional communities that teacher educators belong to ... What are the experiences of teacher educators in different types of programmes? ... The literature of teacher education both domestically and internationally continues to lack references on the critical examination of teacher educators' underlying beliefs and dispositions to the professional development of teacher educators ... We currently lack research evidence about how teacher educators conceptualise the knowledge and understandings that they seek to develop in student teachers. How do they decide what knowledge, skills, dispositions are critical and how do they explore the process by which student teachers acquire these attributes? (p. 35)

There is, then, little New Zealand empirical research that gives insights into teacher educators' transitions into teacher education and their shifts in role. Also lacking is work on how teacher educators understand these roles, how they develop and teach their pedagogical content knowledge, and what beliefs, values, dispositions, knowledges and/or moral purposes underpin their teaching of student teachers.

Recent commissioned New Zealand Ministry of Education reports offer snapshots of the qualifications and demographics of those who teach teachers, but this largely quantitative data is limited in addressing the issues outlined above. For example, in Kane's (2005) study of initial teacher education programmes in New Zealand, data about teacher educators were confined to a list of the educators' academic and teaching qualifications, teaching experience, tenure, availability of professional development, and support for research and community involvement. In another large-scale three-year national research project, Anthony and Kane (2008) focused on the role that initial teacher education and induction plays in the preparation of beginning secondary teachers. Pre-service teacher educators' voices were notably absent, although in-school mentors' voices were sought.

It is apparent that large-scale New Zealand studies of teacher education have focused only incidentally on teacher educators.. These studies have neither provided the rich qualitative accounts advocated by the Cameron and Baker (2004) report, nor addressed other questions raised in the international literature. As Berry (2004) notes, "the pursuit of teaching about teaching remains undervalued and poorly informed by research" (pp. 1297–1298). It is

my intention that this thesis, with its comprehensive and rich focus on the professional lives of a group of eight teacher educators working in different institutions around the country over a five-year period, will contribute to filling these long-standing gaps in the literature.

‘Beyond the Stories’: Giving Voice to a Professional Identity

We must make a compelling case that what we do has value.

(Bullough, 1997, p. 30)

If, as Loughran (2008) and Zeichner (1999) argue, it is over to teacher educators to (re)claim their own voices and to open up the gaps and silences that surround their profession, then this study does that by contributing to the process of (re)claiming and articulating the voices of teacher educators in New Zealand as they experience a sea-change in their careers.

During his 1999 AERA vice-presidential address to Division K, prominent United States researcher Ken Zeichner claimed that the research on teacher education emerging from the S-STEP SIG of AERA was the most significant material to come out of teacher education in the last few decades. However, he has more recently criticised such research for not getting sufficiently beyond the individual ‘tales’ of teacher educators in order to build a sounder theoretical base for teacher education as a pedagogy, as a professional identity, and as a body of knowledge (Zeichner, 2007). John Loughran laid down a similar challenge at the 2008 S-STEP conference in the United Kingdom when he enjoined that same teacher education research community to “get beyond the [individual] story” in their research. Both researchers thus advocate that current research on teacher education must more clearly articulate any ‘theory’ of teacher education emerging from that work and better establish a common ‘scholarship’ for teacher educators. As Loughran (2008) urges in his commentary to the chapter on research in teacher education in the latest edition of the *Handbook of Research on Teacher Education*:

In a profession that understands what it does, how and why, the ability to speak for itself, to shape its own destiny and to seriously grapple with the expectations, needs and demands placed upon it is of paramount importance. Clearly it is time for the work of teacher educators to boldly shape that which is the problem of teacher education and to respond in positive, well-informed and meaningful ways. (p. 1181)

There are however, those, such as Clandinin (1986) and Clandinin and Connelly (2000), who would surely critique the notion of ‘getting beyond the story’ by arguing that it is precisely *through* narrative or the telling of stories that we make theoretical sense of our experiences. They understand teacher identities *as* stories we live by - as stories in which ongoing experiences are shaped, interpreted and reinterpreted as we live through them. Such teacher narrative constructions are both personal and social and exist within professional contexts or ‘professional knowledge landscapes’ that are complex, multiple and often shifting.

In this thesis, I recognise the importance of both perspectives. While my work is firmly grounded in the ‘stories’ of the professional careers and experiences of eight experienced teacher educators in New Zealand, it nonetheless attempts to ‘get beyond’ those career narratives to investigate some of the implications those stories have for an emerging theory of teacher education. Drawing on psychological and socio-cultural theories of identity and social identity, I propose, in this thesis, a definition of professional identity that encompasses ‘the valued professional self’. I then use this perspective as a lens through which to analyse and evoke the professional identity of teacher educators as a distinctive professional group.

The thesis contributes to the field of teacher education in two main ways. First, it attempts to establish a practical research methodology for ‘getting at’ the elusive, often referred to but seldom analysed concept that we call professional identity. Second, it endeavours to get ‘beyond the stories’ so as to advance a theory of, and to start a conversation about, what the particular aspects or key characteristics of a *professional identity of teacher educators* (as opposed, for example, to school teachers) might be.

Let me elaborate on the first contribution. While many studies in the teaching and teacher education field address particular *aspects* of professional identity (see, for example, LaBoskey, 2004b; Martin, 2008; Murphy, Pinnegar, & Pinnegar, 2008; Thomas & Beauchamp, 2008; Vavrus, 2004), few make defining that professional identity the empirical focus of the study. And few attempt to go beyond the way in which certain aspects of an identity are revealed within particular contexts and for particular individuals. Many focus on the possible *influences* on a professional identity rather than on the nature of the thing itself, and many seem to focus on what it is like to be a *particular kind* of teacher or teacher educator (a teacher of colour, a gay teacher, a female teacher, a bi-cultural teacher, and so on) rather than on what it is like to be a teacher or teacher educator *per se*. Nearly all, moreover, either leave open, or do not discuss at all, the methodological question: if we wanted to describe the professional identity of a group (or indeed, an individual), how, exactly, would

we go about that as a matter of empirical investigation and analysis? What do we have to talk to a professional group (in this case teacher educators) *about* in order to elicit an understanding of their identity?

The thematic elements of a professional identity that emerged from these considerations provided me with a framework within which to discuss the data. In the five central chapters of this thesis, I analyse and discuss what the teacher educators said, felt and believed about the following:

- *'Becoming' a teacher educator*: their motivations and reasons for becoming a teacher educator, initial 'induction' into the job, and initial realisation of their shifting identity;
- *'Doing' teacher education*: their perceptions and conceptions of teacher education as a 'job' or 'career', and its scope as professional activity;
- *'Knowing' teacher education*: their professional knowledge-base, expertise, and what they considered distinctive about the pedagogy/andragogy of teacher education;
- *'Being' a teacher educator*: the various 'roles', 'personae' and emotions that represent the kind of teacher educator they see themselves as being; and
- *'Belonging' as a teacher educator*: their collective identity, what binds them as a professional group, and the affinities felt, or not felt, with other professional communities.

My thinking in regard to the second contribution ('getting beyond the stories') rested on determining what basic beliefs, values, knowledges, attitudes, pedagogical orientations, affinities, self-images and so on all members of the research group had in common. I was, then, interested in determining if that knowledge could be used to form the basis of an emerging theory or model of these educators' collective 'professional identity'. Are there some core values, roles, self-perceptions, and principles that teacher educators in general might subscribe to or live by? And if there are such common values, roles, principles, dispositions and affinities, then what are they?

If we are to develop a 'theory of teacher education', or to make a compelling case for the social value of teacher education, as Loughran, Zeichner and others have intimated, then part of that work will necessarily involve an ongoing articulation of the professional identities and identifications of the people who do the job of teacher education. It is already a commonplace of informal teacher educator discourse, that, like teachers, teacher educators cannot separate what they do *professionally* from who they are *personally*. As Palmer (1998, p. 1) puts it, "We teach who we are." Yet few, if any, studies have set this supposition as a

matter of empirical investigation at the collective level. We have been telling lots of ‘me stories’. Perhaps it is time we also told more ‘us stories’.

In the absence of any agreement about a national curriculum for teacher education (Cochran-Smith & Zeichner, 2005; Levine, 2006) or any substantial international consensus on a pedagogy for teacher education (Loughran, 2006), and in the face of the widely varied ways in which pre-service teacher education courses are structured and delivered, teacher education institutions (in New Zealand, certainly) have developed their own highly differentiated programme structures (Kane, 2005). This situation in turn, throws to the forefront how much the individual teacher educator draws on what he or she believes teacher education to be (and to be *for*) in determining what teacher education actually is as an experience for his or her students, and how effective teacher education is in achieving its apparently various and contestable social goals.

This differentiation raises, however, the question of whether it hides more than highlights the common threads that bind the profession as a community of practice. Does this differentiation obscure more than foreground what might stand as teacher education’s common knowledge base and what might be its common ‘voice’? As Zeichner (1995, p. 21) argues, “... unless teacher educators can themselves articulate what it is that they professionally know, believe in, and ‘stand for’, then, just as in the case of teachers ... there is a danger that a knowledge base [for teacher education] will be defined without the voice and perspectives of teacher educators [themselves]”. In the central chapters of this thesis, I elicit and develop the key facets of the group’s professional identity to provide something of this voice and perspective, and in the conclusion, I attempt to synthesise aspects of these into a possible theoretical ‘model’ of the professional identity of teacher educators.

CHAPTER 2. IDENTITY AND PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY IN TEACHING AND TEACHER EDUCATION

Who is it can tell me who I am? (King Lear: 1.iv. 238)

Teacher Education in New Zealand: Who Will Train, Where, and How?

As was the case earlier in Australia and Britain, the last two decades in New Zealand have seen a radical restructuring of teacher education. This process has generated considerable external review and critique of the purpose and nature of teacher education from agencies responsible for the preparation of teachers. In the mid-1990s and the early 21st century, the government and other agencies commissioned a series of reviews of teacher education, the first flurry of which included an Education Review Office (ERO¹) report focused on the quality of graduates being produced (mostly) by the colleges of education. This report highlighted the fact that no one government agency had a primary interest in, or responsibility for, the effective operations and outcomes of the pre-service teacher training system as a whole. In 1997, a review by Geoffrey Partington on behalf of the Education Forum and reflecting the forum's new right, market forces agenda, advocated for shorter, more practically oriented teacher training courses, ironically at a time when the lengthening of pre-service teacher education courses was being advocated overseas.

The early 21st century saw several more reviews into initial teacher education (Cameron, 2004; Cameron & Baker, 2004; Greenwood, Cobley, Mikaere-Wallis, & Fa'afoi, 2005; Kane, 2005). The first of these (Cameron, 2004) was a study of archived initial teacher education programme approval documents and monitoring reports held by the New Zealand Teachers Council. Cameron and Baker (2004) completed a literature review and annotated bibliography of research on initial teacher education from 1993 to 2004. Greenwood and colleagues (2005) explored what the non-provider stakeholders involved in teacher education (parent communities, boards of trustees² and students) understood as quality initial teacher education. The final in the series, Kane's (2005) report, reviewed the policies and practices of

¹ ERO is the government department that reports publicly on the quality of education in all New Zealand schools and early childhood centres, including private training institutions.

² In New Zealand, a board of trustees (BOT) is a group of elected people who are responsible for the governance, control and management of individual schools. Each school has its own board of trustees; the board reflects the interests of the school's community.

every provider of pre-service teacher education in the country. In 2006, Rivers published a summary report that provided a synthesis of all four studies.

These external critiques and political and institutional changes at meso and macro levels have been accompanied by considerable upheaval and internal soul-searching among teacher educators themselves. Individually and collectively, they have had to consider their role and status as ‘professionals’, debate the role and status of teacher education as an academic discipline, and assess the appropriate location for its delivery.

In New Zealand, long-entrenched historical systems of delivery and training have thus been challenged and re-formed (Alcorn, 1999; Jesson, 2000). Over the last two decades, teacher education, for over a century the protected province of the six stand-alone colleges of education, was deregulated and opened up to other providers. As a result, it became a highly contestable and competitive area politically, undergoing structural and functional transformation and resulting in a proliferation of providers. In 2004, in New Zealand, there were 31 providers of pre-service programmes and 156 different programmes of initial teacher education on offer (Cameron & Baker, 2004). Providers included colleges of education, universities, polytechnics, and private providers such as *waananga*³ and private tertiary education providers or private training establishments (PTEs), each offering, face-to-face, distance and/or online, a huge range of programmes for the preparation of teachers for early childhood centres, *kohanga reo*,⁴ *kura kaupapa Māori*,⁵ and bi-lingual and mainstream schools.

Teacher education also moved, for the first time, into the university at the same time as it entered the realm of private enterprise. Under pressure from neoliberal⁶ educational policies based on quasi-decentralisation, market determinism and economic rationalism, and exacerbated by significant funding cuts to pre-service teacher education, a spirit of competition replaced the traditional co-operation among providers. Colleges of education were made subject to increasingly regulated contractual arrangements with the Ministry of Education, bringing them more in line with the lower per capita funding regimes applicable to

³ *Waananga* are a type of publicly owned tertiary institution that provides education in a Maori cultural context.

⁴ *Kohanga Reo* is a Māori language immersion programme for young children from birth to six years.

⁵ *Kura Kaupapa* are Māori-language immersion schools (*kura*), where the philosophy and practice reflect Māori cultural values with the aim of revitalising Māori language, knowledge and culture. *Kura kaupapa Māori* follow *Te Aho Matua* - a kaupapa based on *tikanga Māori*. *Kura Kaupapa* teach the same subjects as other state schools, but *Te Reo Māori* is the main language.

⁶ Neoliberalism is a “a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade” (Harvey, 2005, p. 2). In terms of teacher education, this definition could be construed as increased competition for state funding and, as a consequence, for power and status among the universities nationally.

non-teacher education social sciences.

As primary teaching moved from a century of being a diploma-ed profession to becoming a degeed one, it simultaneously faced funding cuts and an overall reduction in the length of study time required. Following Auckland College's initial move to a three-year degree, and constrained by the resulting funding formulae and the tightening regulations set by the Ministry of Education, most colleges of education adopted a three-year undergraduate generic model for primary training and became degree-granting institutions in their own right. Many offered three-year and four-year combined degree/teaching diploma, degree upgrades for practitioners with diplomas, and even Master's degrees, as well as a raft of other professional qualifications. Each strove for its share of the educational market. Several diversified into other fields of education and training beyond teacher education, in order to ensure their economic survival through EFTs⁷ and external funding.⁸

At the time, Wellington College of Education and Victoria University developed a combined three-year degree *and* teaching diploma, another example of the competitive edge providers still sought, despite the then current political rhetoric of the importance of co-operation and reduced competition. New Zealand educationalist Ivan Snook (1998, 2000) argued that just when other countries were looking to lengthen their teacher education courses to take account of the complex knowledge needed to educate a teacher for the modern world, New Zealand institutions were competing not by producing better teachers but by offering shorter, cheaper and educationally narrower, more practically oriented courses.

Not surprisingly, the location of teacher education became a highly contestable issue. Seizing the opportunity to boost their own funding shortfalls, universities also entered the teacher education market. When I began this thesis, two of the traditional six colleges had already amalgamated with local universities (during the 1990s),⁹ and mergers and partnerships for two others were being discussed. Although the initial proposed Otago University–Dunedin College merger had proved problematic, negotiations were ongoing and amalgamation seemed likely. So, too, did a merger between Wellington College of Education and Victoria University. In 2004, the merger between Auckland University School of Education and Auckland College of Education was finalised and Auckland College of Education combined with the School of Education of Auckland University to form a new

⁷ EFTS or equivalent full-time students was the commonest formula for calculating Ministry funding of schools and for funding tertiary institutions until the mid 2000s.

⁸ For example, Christchurch College of Education developed a Business School on its premises, the core business of which had little to do with the education of teachers.

⁹ Palmerston North Teachers College amalgamated with Massey University to become Massey College of Education in 1996 and Hamilton Teachers College combined with Waikato University in 1991.

Faculty of Education. This development was closely followed by amalgamation between Victoria University and Wellington College of Education, on 1 January 2005. Continued autonomy for the last two stand-alone colleges (both of which already had formal collaborative arrangements with their local universities, whereby they taught into the degrees) was soon deemed untenable for both Dunedin and Christchurch Colleges of Education. Official amalgamations with their local universities, Otago and Canterbury respectively, took place in January 2007.

All such mergers were accompanied by significant institutional and cultural upheaval, staffing redundancies, physical relocations, and total administrative restructuring. The amalgamations inevitably threw into sharp relief an apparent contrast between the largely practice-based, apprenticeship approaches of the colleges, and the more academic, theory and research-based focus of the universities. Snook (2000), among others, argued that a tradition of teacher education already constrained, controlled and marked by a narrow curriculum had worsened in recent years under the ‘reforms’, with “the influence of interest groups, a breaking down of the distinctions between tertiary institutions and the development of the competitive model” (p. 146). Different institutional cultures and histories and the relative roles of research experience, knowledge of educational theory and practical apprenticeship in defining teacher education as a career became increasingly problematic (Ham & Kane, 2004; Snook, 2000). Not surprisingly, (re)negotiating what it meant to be a teacher educator in such changing circumstances became even more contestable and uncertain.

In addition, recent government moves to fund tertiary institutions according to their research outputs (known as the PBRF or Performance-based Research Funding formula¹⁰) have created further tensions within as well as among institutions, the results of which continue to impact on the roles, practices and indeed conceptualisation of teacher education and teacher educators. The ramifications for staff employed in the traditional colleges, many of whom did not have degrees even though they were teaching in degree programmes, have been considerable.

At the beginning of the last decade, Jesson (2000) painted a disturbing portrait of the effects on colleges, which she described as autonomous institutions with closely specified qualification outcomes, facing decreased funding, increased competition, increased student fees, the intensification of academic labour and little research time. Accompanying increases in bureaucratic workload and decreases in opportunities to debate and critique such change

¹⁰ PBRF as it is known in New Zealand has some parallels in the UK with the Research Assessment Exercise and in Australia with The Research Quality Framework.

within the institutions led to growing pressures on staff whose tenure was no longer assured to upgrade qualifications and for colleges to become research-based institutions. At the same time, college teacher educators were expected to carry teaching loads unthinkable in a university. Jesson warned, however, that such pressures could foreshadow what might occur in universities.

Inevitably, such changes to the structure of teacher education and ideologically driven challenges to colleges of education's historical monopoly placed teacher education institutions in competition with universities and gave rise to an informal professional debate about both the culture and even the core purposes of teacher education. These profound developments have produced much informal re-conceptualising of what teacher education is, and indeed can be, within such an environment, both in form and in function, and at national, institutional and individual levels. Perhaps New Zealand had indeed been "unique among western democracies in its continued resistance to locating teacher education as a university-based field of study" (Ham & Kane, 2004, p. 136).

We could also argue that the consequences of this historical resistance have exacerbated the many political and economic pressures evident in teacher educator institutions today. These tensions are being played out uncomfortably in practice among individual teacher educators in the various contexts, as they negotiate structural upheavals associated with (re)forming institutional cultures, develop new affinities and communities and renegotiate their professional identities and what it means to be a teacher educator in a university context. In her article, "Will Scholars Trump Teachers in New Zealand Teacher Education?", Noeline Alcorn (2005) acknowledges the competing and contradictory demands of "developing a research culture alongside the demands of teaching and professional involvement in schools" (p. 3). She highlights the very real conundrum facing New Zealand teacher educators working within the new PBRF-dominated research environment.

As Alcorn (2005) hints, the moves to academise teacher education that occurred in the United States and Canada in the 1950s and in Britain and Australia in the 1980s and the early 1990s seem to have proven just as problematic for universities as for colleges. The US literature, in particular, suggests that not only has the role of teacher educator within *not* been afforded any more status through its location in the universities, but that the study of this "Cinderella of academia ... [has] been variously avoided by education faculty, neglected by university management and patently ignored by faculty from other disciplines" (Ham & Kane, 2004, p. 134). Zeichner (1995) suggests that even after 40 years of basing teacher education in the academy, research in the area is still only tolerated and is not taken seriously

as intellectual knowledge to be valued. In other words, the closer one's relationship to schools, the lower one's status and credibility and the less one has access to resources.

Despite the long history that teacher education has in the US, the ambiguity of its position and its low status in the US academy has continued into the new century (Clarke, 2001; Labaree, 2000, 2005, 2008). Bates (2005a), in a more recent Australian context, presents an even darker outlook, describing the politics of teacher education in Australia as "bedevilled by fragmentation and marginalisation" (p. 237) and as "ramshackle, contradictory and porous" (p. 240). Like others (e.g., Loughran, 2006), Bates argues the need for teacher educators to develop a defensible theory of teacher education that will justify their activity and attach political importance to their profession, rather than allow it to be seen, as Earley (2005, p. 216), puts it, "a device to achieve other goals - as opposed to a professional entity that should receive policy support to sustain it." Bates (2005a) and Labaree (2005) claim that teacher educators' late arrival in the academy, where hierarchies had already been established, ensures they remain subordinate in status within their newly joined institutions. Their status within the academy directly relates, then, to their roles as scholars, not as practitioners or teacher educators.

The complex dilemmas for, and the unique pressures on, the teacher education professoriate in the US are also well documented (Cole, 2000; Sumsion, 2000; Weber, 2000; Wilson, 2006). The dual mandate underlying teacher educators' work, which requires them to serve both the academy, and the wider professional community of schools, is summed up by Knowles, Cole, and Sumsion (2000b, p. 8):

[The] problem for most teacher educators, especially those committed to change in teacher education, is that no matter how hard they try, the scales are impossible to balance because the respective weights of academic and professional endeavors are uneven at the outset. According to the values and standards of the university, teaching, service, professional and community development, and other activities that have mainly local or personal implications and which demand inordinate time and energy commitments, do not carry much weight ...The heavy weights from the university's perspective are those activities which result in intellectual and financial prestige and international acclaim. For most teacher educators, it seems, any balance that is possible to achieve is always imperfect. Such imperfections come from being mired in the swamps of practice, so teacher educators are implicitly led to believe.

Labaree (2000) highlights another issue confronting teacher educators: dealing with a job that looks easy but is not, and with sectors (even the students they teach) that little value their work and that afford them little status.

Deliver[ing] teacher education programs to provide ordinary college students with the imponderable so that they can teach the irrepressible in a manner that pleases the irreconcilable, and all without knowing clearly either the purposes or the consequences of their actions. Is it any wonder that these programs are not seen as smashing successes? But that is not the end of the problem confronting teacher educators. In addition, they face a situation in which the profession of teaching is generally seen to be relatively easy. And this perception is not simply characteristic of the untutored public; it is also endemic among teacher candidates. (p. 231)

Nor has their status improved, despite the decades they have spent within the academy.

Teacher education ... remains low in status, even in schools of education, labor intensive and unappreciated. Identifying with work and with others judged second-rate comes at a cost to self. What sort of person wants membership of this kind? Teacher education is not judged as serious intellectual work. (Bullough, 2008, pp. 58-59)

The tenacious discourse of teacher education as a low-status profession also appears to have persisted, maybe in part because of teaching's historical, class and gendered associations, as a service occupation (like nursing) defined as women's work, and more suited to the working class and the less educated. Even in countries where teacher education has been academised for a long time, it appears to suffer by comparison with other professions with a practice base, such as law and engineering. As Labaree (2008) notes, since professions derive most of their esteem from the quality of their associations, it is little wonder that one such as teaching which serves "stigmatized populations, as defined by gender, class and age". (p. 298)

These, then, are the potential dilemmas that face and will continue to face teacher education in New Zealand. In its current situation, New Zealand teacher education remains in a unique position internationally, yet is surprisingly under-researched (Cameron & Baker, 2004; Gibbs, 1997). Gibbs's comment towards the end of last decade that "the present tide of fatalism, uncertainty and confusion that prevails in teacher education does not seem destined

to recede in the near future” (1997, p. 1) has proven prophetic. The status of teacher education and those who work as teacher educators in New Zealand in the 21st century is one still marked by flux, by ambiguity of status and role and by much soul-searching. But crisis also presents opportunities for the profession to re-examine its professional commitments, obligations, actions, beliefs, values, habitual practices, aspirations and its place in the world.

It is against this backdrop of complex, unsettling institutional change and political uncertainty that the New Zealand teacher educators who were part of this study have had to (re)consider who they are as teacher educators. They have had to (re)negotiate their professional identity in response to cultural and economic changes within their own institution and in response to shifting political conditions nationally. An empirical study of this nature is therefore both timely and relevant, and carries implications not only for teacher educators as individuals, but also for the programmes and institutions within which they work.

Theoretical Perspectives on Professional Identity

The notion of what constitutes an ‘identity’, or, in particular, a ‘professional identity’, is complex and contestable, not least in the contexts of education. Conceptual discussions of identity and professional identity draw on a number of theoretical disciplines, especially philosophy, psychology, sociology and psychotherapy, and imply a variety of research approaches (Day, Kington, Stobart, & Sammons, 2006). As a term, identity is quite widely used in literatures of education, but is taken to mean rather different things. It also has an epistemological basis that is poorly defined and located. There appears to be considerable linguistic ambiguity about the differences accorded to notions of identity, self, self-image, self-conception, experience, self-narrative, and the like, and, in many cases, such terms seem to be used more or less interchangeably. In the education literature, at least, ‘identity’ and ‘professional identity’ are terms often used but seldom defined or explained. Even more rarely are they made the specific empirical focus of the research being reported.

One reason for such confusion might be, as Korthagen (2004) notes, that the body of literature focused on such concepts embraces several disciplinary areas and may thus seem confusing or overwhelming to educationalists writing from only one perspective. For example, both identity theory and social identity theory are similar in that the self is reflexive: ‘self’ can take/view itself as an object, and categorise, classify or name itself in particular ways in relation to other social categories or classifications (Stets & Burke, 2000). On the one

hand, identity theory positions self-categorisation as an occupant of a role and involves the incorporation into the self of meanings and expectations associated with that role and its performance (Burke & Tully, 1977). On the other hand, social identity theory places more emphasis on social group categorisation and relations among these groups. Such ontological ambiguity, along with such subtlety of distinction, can be bewildering.

Three main theoretical perspectives on identity seem to be present in the education literature: (1) psychological/developmental, (2) socio-cultural, and (3) post-structural. Each of these perspectives carries with it different historical and ideological assumptions and beliefs about the nature of self and identity. However, these divisions must also be seen as arbitrary. Because many theorists and researchers work across paradigms (Grootenboer, Smith, & Lowrie, 2006), there is a porousness among them. The following sections offer a brief general overview of these three main perspectives and of how each contributes to the definition of professional identity that informs the rest of the thesis.

Psychological/developmental perspectives

Psychological/developmental traditions in identity theory include classic theorists such as Mead, Cooley, and Erikson. Day et al. (2006) note that these early perspectives about self tended to focus on the inner world of the individual and to “position the self as a singular, stable essence that was little affected by context” (p. 602), even though this context was a social one. These views focused an individual’s formation of a relatively stable system of concepts. Feedback from others was filtered and interpreted subjectively, but the central self-concept system remained individually “distinct and identifiable” (p. 602). Mead (1934) describes the gist of this psychological theory as one that “takes individuals and their individual experiencing - individual minds and selves - as logically prior to the social process in which they are involved, and explains the existence of that social process in terms of them” (p. 222). Influential social psychologist Cooley’s contribution to this sociological debate about self was rebalancing the scales. He placed the “establishment of the self and others on the same plane of reality” (Mead, 1930, p. 693). In other words, “by regarding the self as the ideas entertained by others of the self, and the other as the ideas entertained of him by the self, the action of the others upon the self and of the self upon the others becomes simply the interaction of ideas upon each other within mind” (Mead, 1930, p. 699).

Other influential developmental psychologists such as Erikson, also working in this psychoanalytic tradition, expanded on these theories. Erikson argued that while the locus of identity and identity formation was inherently individual and internal, the development of the

self had socio-cultural dimensions and individuals went through continuous, even predictable, stages during the course of a lifetime. Erikson (1968) proposed eight stages of psycho-social maturation, each stage marked by tensions or crises, which needed to be resolved in order that the strengths associated with each stage might emerge. The core concept in this lifespan theory is the acquisition of an ego-identity. During Erikson's fifth psycho-social stage of development, 'Identity vs. Identity Confusion', adolescents face a crisis that involves a variety of struggles to achieve an authentic identity. The exploration of identity issues then becomes the outstanding characteristic of adolescence.

Penuel and Wertsch (1995) agree that Erikson does not discount the cultural and external influences on the development of identity. However, they suggest that it is over to individuals to create and maintain a dynamic conception of themselves as coherent wholes. They argue that the unique processes of identity formation encompass three broad domains: fidelity, ideology and work (Erikson, 1968), where insights into identity are gained through an examination of how people describe themselves in different aspects of their lives. Eriksonian views therefore see identity not as something static but as something affected by conflicting internal and external forces over one's lifespan. The self-making individual, however, remains central. Beijaard, Verloop, and Vermunt (2000, p. 750) offer a generalised summary of such positions: "Identity can generally be defined as who or what someone is, and the various meanings one attaches to themselves or the meanings attributed by others." Epstein (1978, p. 101) suggests that identity thus "represents the process by which the person seeks to integrate his [sic] various statuses and roles, as well as his diverse experiences, into a coherent image of self." Its purpose, then, is more focused on achieving coherence and integration.

Although such views see identity development as relatively compartmentalised and separate, even though influenced by the "looking-glass self" (Cooley, 1902, pp. 183–184), a growing recognition of the role others play in the formation of this self is discernible. Mead (1934), in particular, extended this debate by arguing that social interactions with others fundamentally affect, even 'constitute', one's self-concept and behaviour, but that, at the same time, the infinite number of ways in which individuals can respond to those social interactions ensures that individuality is preserved.

The fact that all selves are constituted by or in terms of the social process, and are individual reflections of it - or rather of this organized behavior pattern which it exhibits, and which theyprehend in their respective structures - is not in

the least incompatible with, or destructive of, the fact that every individual self has its own peculiar individuality. (p. 201)

Mead suggests that self is a process, an ongoing dialectic between the ‘me’ (as I respond to the world) and the ‘I’ (as I present myself to the world). It is this dialectic, or self-reflection, that enables us to create meaning and identity through our interactions with the world around us, and yet choose the social interactions we take part in and the others we ‘identify’ with, and still preserve our individuality.

Other aspects of identity theory that emerge from the psychological/developmental literature include the idea that there are, in fact, a number of adaptable ‘selves’ that focus on the carrying out of different, separate roles (Goffman, 1959); and that there are both ‘situated’ (adaptable to the structures and situations one finds oneself in) and ‘substantive’ (the more stable, immutable) aspects of self-identity (Ball, 1972), and even that within each of us there is a range of ‘possible selves’ or ideal selves that we either would like to become or fear becoming (Markus & Nurius, 1986). Most writers now agree, even those writing from a psychological perspective, that self or identity is neither a singularity nor stable over time. Across time, one’s self-view begins to take more account of social factors through a reflexive process of social negotiation, and to recognise that there is not just a singular, stable self but rather several selves, all of which are subject to subtle evolution during our lifetimes (Day et al., 2006). Like Mead, Nias (1989b) differentiates these selves as our substantial, or private, self or identity (I or subject) and our situational selves or identities (me or object), with the former only being knowable through reflection on the latter.

In summary, the contribution that psychological/developmental theories of identity make to the idea of professional identity is that the latter is both ‘substantive’ and ‘situated’. These theories remind us that (professional) identity is, in essence, about internalised mental models or ideals, located within individuals. Over time, these internalisations may change in response to external events, but they can only be constructed by individuals, as reflections about themselves. Identity is how individuals see themselves, rather than how others see them. Identity formation is a process by which a person attempts to create congruence between his or her self-image(s) and the image(s) others have of them.

Socio-cultural perspectives

Socio-cultural perspectives, such as those aligned with Wenger and Bourdieu, take their cue from Mead and others in conceptualising identity as a “relational phenomenon” (Beijaard,

Meijer, & Verloop, 2004, p. 108) that is both individually and socially constructed, located both within and external to the individual, and involves interactions with culture and society. However, their interest is more in social than in individual identity - how groups of individuals operate in the world as social communities or cultures. From a socio-cultural perspective, a person's identity reflects their meanings, values, attitudes, dispositions and practices, that in turn construct and are constructed from his or her background experiences and narratives about the past. A person's identity, then, is something that is mediated and developed through social and cultural practices within contexts of practice in the present. It is very 'situated', in terms of the particular cultural contexts and discourses that operate within and around the individual; the former, in turn, play a very significant part in the mediation and (re)construction of both groups' and individuals' self-perception of their own values and practices.

Coldron and Smith (1999) argue that social theories such as Bourdieu's "offer powerful explanations of the social determination of identity that leave little room for agency ... [and] show that personal identity and action are inevitably conditioned by the operation of power in society and shaped by social forms that use that power" (pp. 712–713). In their own theoretical analysis, the authors argue that, on the one hand, biography (both social and personal) plays an important role in developing [professional] identity, and that, on the other, biography is socially 'given'. A teacher's identity, they state, is partly achieved by an individual's active location in social space, which the authors define as an array of possible relations to others, "some of which are conferred by inherited social structures and some chosen or created by the individual" (p. 711). They maintain that "the development of professional identity depends on the quality and availability of varied factors" (p. 711), including sets of practices inherent within the craft, scientific, moral and aesthetic traditions of teaching.

Bourdieu's (1983) social theory, with its concepts of *habitus*, *field*, *forms of capital* and *symbolic violence*, has had a profound influence on our understandings about the nature of identity as a socialised concept, the relationship between agency and the individual subject, and the dynamics of power in collective social life/contexts and structures. Simply put, the concept of *habitus* refers to an individual's acquired systems of dispositions, beliefs, lasting patterns of thought, actions, discourses and so forth. These are developed internally in response to the external structures, circumstances and/or *fields* encountered by the individual. The concept of *field* describes a specific, bounded, hierarchical social space constituted by the various participating social agents, where the latter struggle and compete for certain specific

types of capital or desirable resources in order to occupy dominant positions within that field. Bourdieu extended Marx's concept of 'capital' to include systems of *economic, social, cultural and symbolic* forms of capital. Each individual occupies many fields or social spaces, and his or her status, authority, power and/or social position is defined by the amounts of each kind of capital he or she possesses within that social space. Symbolic capital, for example, is a cognitive form of capital that rests upon features such as reputation, perceived authority and recognition. When possessors of *symbolic capital* exercise that power against agents who hold less, in an attempt to dominate or change those persons' actions, they are using *symbolic violence* in their efforts to reproduce or legitimate their ways of thinking (italics are author's own, used for emphasis).

Power can thus be said to operate to both constrain and enable people's choices, depending on the different experiences, resources and social positions they have access to. All of these have the force of shaping their *habitus* and the practices and traditions that they are able to draw on (Coldron & Smith, 1999). This idea of the subjective (*habitus*) and objective (*field*) adds an important dimension to thinking about the notions of identity and professional identity, especially when we consider the 'fields' in which teacher educators have originally developed their 'habitus'.

Wenger (1998, p. 149) addresses the social, cultural and political (macro and micro, individual and group) aspects of identity formation. He proposes five dimensions of identity that need to be taken into account:

- Identity as *negotiated experience*: We define who we are by the ways we experience ourselves through participation as well as the way we and others reify ourselves.
- Identity as *community membership*: We define who we are by the familiar and the unfamiliar.
- Identity as *learning trajectory*: We define who we are by where we have been and where we are going.
- Identity as *nexus of multimembership*: We define who we are by the ways we reconcile our various forms of identity into one identity.
- Identify as *a relation between the local and the global*: We define who we are by negotiating local ways of belonging to broader constellations and manifesting broader styles and discourses. (p. 149)

Importantly, identity and practice are profoundly connected and, indeed, mirror each other. As Wenger (1998, p. 149) argues:

... there is a profound connection between identity and practice. Developing a practice requires the formation of a community whose members can engage with one another and thus acknowledge each other as participants ... Inevitably our practices deal with the profound issue of how to be a human being. In this sense, the formation of a community of practice is also the negotiation of identities.

Much of the discussion to date has referred to identity as opposed to professional identity. This latter identity, however, is a problematic one. From the various definitions offered above, it could be assumed that a socio-cultural take on professional identity is that it develops in relation to and response to the social, cultural and workplace values, norms, discourses and practices of the context in which the individual works. Rodgers and Scott (2008) cite Britzman's (1993) view that such contexts are normative, with those in authority having a vested interest in participants within the community upholding such norms, and where lack of awareness and pressures to conform may rob teachers of "agency, creativity and voice" (p. 734).

In their review of recent research on teachers' *professional* identity, Beijaard et al. (2004) argue that many studies (that use a socio-cultural lens) omit any overt definition or assume one (e.g., Nixon, 1996).¹¹ Several do, however, attempt to define professional identity, or at least describe some of its characteristics. Beauchamp and Thomas (2009) find Sachs' (2005) definition a useful starting one.

Teacher professional identity ... stands at the core of the teaching profession. It provides a framework for teachers to construct their own ideas of 'how to be', 'how to act' and 'how to understand' their work and their place in society. Importantly, teacher identity is not something that is fixed nor is it imposed; rather it is negotiated through experience and the sense that is made of that experience. (Sachs, 2005, p. 15)

Citing Berlak and Berlak (1980), Volkman and Anderson (1998, p. 296) highlight the difficult balance involved in this negotiation: "Professional identity exists as a complex and dynamic equilibrium, where personal self-image is balanced with a variety of social roles

¹¹ While it can be argued that the concept of 'professional', or even its very relevance as a term, is something that needs challenging (Taylor & Runte, 1995), certain common characteristics from both 'trait' and 'structural-functional' models of professionalism are assumed for the purposes of this thesis. The term professional carries with it notions of agency, a qualified skill base, a code of ethics, a commitment to altruistic service, and a self-regulating professional association.

teachers feel obliged to play”. Beijgaard et al. (2004, p. 108), citing Tickle (2000), also stress the interactive nature of the development of professional identity:

... professional identity refers not only to the influence of the conceptions and expectations of other people, including broadly accepted images in society about what a teacher should know and do but also to what teachers themselves find important in their professional work and lives based on both their experiences in practice and their personal background.

Lasky (2005, p. 901), drawing on earlier work, offers a similar idea:

Teacher professional identity is how teachers define themselves to themselves and to others. It is a construct of professional self that evolves over career stages (Ball & Goodson, 1985; Huberman, 1993; Sikes, Measor & Woods, 1985); and can be shaped by school, reform, and political contexts (Datnow et al., 2000; Sachs, 2000). It is one aspect of individual teacher capacity.

Other scholars (e.g., Acker, 1999; Ball & Goodson, 1985; Goodson & Hargreaves, 1996; Kelchtermans & Vandenberghe, 1994; Nias, 1989) also focus on the relationship between the personal and professional lives of teachers. They argue that knowledge of self is crucial to the way teachers construct their work. Kelchtermans (1993a, pp. 449–450) theorises the professional self as consisting of five interrelated parts: self-image, self-esteem, job-motivation, task perception (or how one defines one’s roles) and future perspective. This professional self evolves over time. Flores and Day (2006) also describe the creation or construction of a teaching identity as an ongoing, dynamic process, which involves “making sense and (re) interpretation of values and experiences” (p. 220). Synthesising from a range of research, they elucidate various crucial aspects of professional identity:

A sense of professional identity will contribute to teachers’ self-efficacy, motivation, commitment and job satisfaction (Day, Stobart, Kington, Sammons & Last, 2003) and is, therefore, a key factor in becoming an effective teacher. To create and maintain identity, entails a continuing site of struggle (MacLure, 1993, p. 313, which is located in a given social and cultural space (Coldron & Smith, 1999; Sachs, 2001b); and it is dependent upon teachers’ views of themselves and the contexts in which they work ... they develop their professional identities by “combining parts of their past, including their

experience in school and their teacher preparation, with pieces of their present”
(Feiman-Nemser, 2001, p.1029). (Flores & Day, 2006, p. 220)

In summary, certain features are common to a socio-cultural lens on (professional) identity: ongoing interactions among biography (personal and professional), views of self, agency and social structure, and the fact that it is a site for constant renegotiation over time. While researchers may disagree as to the relative importance of individual agency and cultural/social interactions as the prime ‘determinants’ of identity, most share Taylor’s (1989, p. 35) view that “self can never be described without reference to those who surround it”. Also inferable from this last definition is the importance of an emotional component.

Poststructuralist perspectives

Poststructuralist perspectives embrace a number of different positionalities and draw on a number of traditions, including semiotics and linguistics, philosophy, psychology, sociology, economics and politics. Unlike Eriksonian (individual phenomenon) and socio-cultural (social phenomenon) accounts of identity, which focus on the relative influences of self and others in establishing unity and continuity of identity over time, poststructuralist views emphasise the place of political context, discursive practice and power in identity formation (Zembylas, 2003a, 2003b). Poststructural positions challenge more traditional essentialist concepts of identity as a fixed unified self and “interrogate the discursive and disciplinary places from which questions of origin are posed” (Zembylas, 2003a, p. 218). Identity is not seen as unified: it is conceived as unstable, dynamic and relative, involving multiple positions, ‘subjectivities’ or ‘selves’. These multiple and ever-changing identities or subjectivities are constituted and continually reconstructed through semiotic processes, language and within language. Sfard and Prusak (2005) emphasise the notion of identity as a “discursive activity” and a “communicational practice” (p. 16). Zembylas (2003a, p. 221) argues that “identity is formed in this shifting space where narratives of subjectivity meet the narratives of culture” or, to express this notion another way, identity is formed “in the space between the ‘structure’ (of the relations between power and status) and ‘agency’ (in the influence which we and others can have); and it is the interaction between these which influences how teachers see themselves, i.e. their personal and professional identities” (Day et al., 2006, p. 613).

Within this space, individuals have many opportunities for self-transformation and to develop a sense of agency with respect to many ‘identities’. While Eriksonian theories tend to

ascribe agency to the individual, and socio-cultural approaches tend to understand agency as socially situated and shared, poststructuralist views attempt to understand this term, in its cultural and political contexts, as inextricably connected with the social dynamics of power and (re)written through language. It is within this frame of agency that Zembylas (2003a) argues that the affective underpins (teacher) identity and that investigations of the emotional components contribute much to understanding of the (professional) self.

Although a dynamic identity construction does not preclude the existence of particular traits in a person, socio-linguist and critical theorist James Gee (2000) argues that through our engagement in different social discourses and settings, we take on multiple identities that are context dependent. At the same time as Gee acknowledges that individuals have a core identity or “I”, which has a sense of continuity and is something “that holds more uniformly, for ourselves and others across contexts” (p. 99), he also argues that one’s various social “identities”, especially one’s group or collective identities, are built around four inter-related perspectives on what it means to be recognised as a “certain kind of person” (p. 105). These perspectives are multiple, are tied to the workings of historical, institutional and socio-cultural forces and are not separate from one another. Each perspective provides an “*interpretive system* underwriting the recognition of identity by others” (italics in original, p. 108). The development of each is ongoing, and each perspective is negotiable and can be understood through different lenses. These perspectives or lenses are:

- Nature-Identity (*N-Identity*): those parts of who we are that are developed from forces in Nature. N-identities are given meaning and sustained through the work of institutions, discourse and dialogue and/or affinity groups, that is, the very forces that constitute the other perspectives on identity listed below.
- Institution-Identity (*I-Identity*): those parts of who we are that are endorsed by authorities within institutions and that can, in fact, be seen as authored within them.
- Discourse-Identity (*D-Identity*): those parts of who we are that are developed through discourse/dialogue with other individuals. We become a particular kind of person because of how other people “treat, talk about, and interact” (p. 103) with us.
- Affinity-Identity (*A-Identity*): those parts of who we are that are experiences shared in the practice of affinity groups. By joining in a set of distinctive practices, “a person becomes recognised as a certain kind of person with specific allegiances and as someone who belongs.” (p. 105, italics author’s own)

Gee (2000) maintains that these identities are negotiable, each inviting acceptance or

resistance, and that people at any given time may engage in a combination of discourses. These identities exist on a continuum in terms of how actively or passively the occupant of the position recruits, subscribes to, fulfils or fills a role, duties or the like. Gee also acknowledges that the term, while not synonymous, covers important aspects of what others have called by different names, for example, communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991), practices (Bourdieu, 1998), activity systems (Engestrom, 1990). Such discourses are grounded in semiotic processes, bounded by social practices and subject to diversity, contestation, problematising and constant re-creation and renegotiation.

Other writers taking poststructuralist lenses offer similar insights into the fragmented, multiple, constructed and constructing nature of subjectivity/ies. Sachs (2001, p. 154), for example, emphasises the power of semiotics: “In times of rapid change identity cannot be seen as a fixed ‘thing’, it is negotiated, open, shifting, ambiguous, the result of culturally available meanings and the open-ended power-laden enactment of those meanings in everyday situations.” MacLure (1993a, p. 312), also emphasises the fluidity and mediational power of identity: “Identity should not be seen as a stable entity - something that people have - but as something they use, to justify, explain and make sense of themselves in relation to other people, and to the contexts in which they operate.”

In similar vein to Gee, authors Stronach, Corbin, Stark and Warne (2002) describe, in their study of nurses and teachers, today’s professional as “mobilising a complex of occasional identities in response to shifting contexts” (p. 117) and “attempting to address or redress the dilemmas of the job within particular cultures” (p. 109). Like Cooper and Olson (1996), Stronach and colleagues identify the particularly pluralistic and unstable nature of identity during times of change. Britzman (1993, p. 42) describes the context-specific nature of identity as a “constant social negotiation that can never be permanently settled or fixed, occurring as it is does within the irreconcilable contradictions of situational and historical constraints.” Clegg (2008) also suggests that:

identity is understood not as a fixed property, but as part of the lived complexity of a person’s project ... [and] in so far as individuals conceptualise themselves as having an identity as an academic, this multiple and shifting term exists alongside other aspects of how people understand their personhood and ways of being in the world. (p. 329)

She argues that newer discourses of higher education may produce newer subject positions and that poststructural-influenced analyses emphasise the “unfixity of the subject ...

[and] the ongoing process of the constitution of the ‘self’” (p. 331). Davies et al. (2004, p. 384) reinforce this notion: “We must accept that the self both is and is not a fiction, is unified *and* transcendent and fragmented and always in the process of being constituted, can be spoken of in realist ways *and* cannot” (italics authors’ own).

Poststructuralist lenses, in summary, tend to view identity as inherently unstable, fluid, discontinuous, fragmented and constantly changing as new subject positions are formed, informed and reformed (Cooper & Olson, 1996) through multiple discursive practices and social interactions within the communities in which one engages (MacLure, 1993a; Reid & Santoro, 2006; Santoro, Kamler, & Reid, 2001). Social identity, like individual identity, is not a single entity but may consist of ‘multiple selves’ or subjectivities, all of which are contestable and subject to change over time in response to historical, social, cultural and psychological circumstances. Identity must be seen in terms of the cultural and political contexts of power and discursive practice that give form to it and that construct it, and that are, as such, inextricably linked to issues of emotion and value (Zembylas, 2003b).

Defining professional identity

Several key elements of the concept of professional identity emerge from the discussion in this chapter. Rodgers and Scott (2008) provide a starting point by arguing that contemporary conceptions of (professional) identity share several common assumptions, among which are the following:

- Professional identity is formed within multiple contexts that bring all personal, social, cultural, political and historical forces to bear upon that formation;
- Professional identity is shifting, unstable and multifarious: it involves an ongoing construction and reconstruction of our professional ‘stories’ over time;
- Professional identity is formed through our relationships with others;
- Professional identity involves emotions.

I agree, except that I would add two more elements. First, professional identity is a value proposition and not merely a description of a state of mind. Second, there are common characteristics and affinities across individuals’ identities that may constitute something we could call a group or collective identity.

If we draw on all three of the psychological, socio-cultural and post-structuralist perspectives, the definition of professional identity that both emerges from and informs this thesis, then, encompasses the following:

- *Professional identity can be thought of as both personal and social in origin and expression:* On the one hand, one's personal 'self', or one's 'identity', consists of a self-assigned mix of beliefs, values, perceptions, experiences and emotions that constitute the way one sees one's own place in the world. On the other hand, identity or self is intensely socially and relationally situated and is influenced by the political, historical, social and cultural conditions and discourses that operate among and around us. Professional identity is thus personally and individually perceived, but socially and culturally negotiated.
- *Professional identity can be thought of as multifaceted and fragmented, as well as evolving and shifting in nature:* It is not a singularity, but is composed of many elements and expressions that may vary from circumstance to circumstance. Some 'core' aspects of it may be thought of as relatively stable and coherent compared to others, but all are ultimately subject to renegotiation and re-storying over one's occupational life. By its very nature, one's professional identity is always in a process of becoming.
- *Professional identity involves emotional states and value commitments:* Because of its 'socialised' nature, powerful contextual forces operate to shape and constrain it, and this constant shaping necessarily involves levels of emotional commitment and resistance - to belief systems, to professional concepts or discourses, and to cultural values. Professional identities are emotional geographies (Hargreaves, 2001) as well as personal histories. Professional identity is also the 'valued professional self', comprising how one sees oneself *and* what one values in oneself, as a 'professional'.
- *Professional identity necessarily involves some sense of group membership, or non-membership, and identification with a collective:* It involves not just how one sees oneself 'doing my job' as an individual, but also the commitments and affinities - or otherwise - that one feels towards others doing similar or different jobs. In this thesis, I argue, like Wenger, that elements of individuals' identities and identifications that are common across individuals may constitute something we might call a group or collective identity. One's sense of self as a member of a purposeful occupational community or group is a significant and necessary component of one's *professional* identity.

Using three key lenses - psychological, socio-cultural and poststructuralist - I have in this section surveyed some of the definitions and characteristics of individual and social

identity evident in the literature. I want to stress that all of these definitions and characteristics are, to a greater or lesser degree, socio-cultural in focus, because all share relational and contextual elements. I have synthesised these and drawn out the key concepts of identity and professional identity that I have used to frame the analysis of empirical data in the thesis.

In the next section, I locate the notion of professional identity, first as it has been dealt with within the literature on (school) teachers and teaching, and second as it has been dealt with in the literature on teacher educators and teacher education.

Professional Identity in Studies of Teachers

In their overview of the issues associated with understanding teacher identity, Beauchamp and Thomas (2009) note its perceived value in the literature as a frame or organising element. They grapple, however, as do others, with the challenges involved in defining teacher identity. They identify some of the methodological approaches used to explore this slippery concept, as well as several overlapping issues that are present in the literature, and they use these to frame their own arguments. Their work is thus underpinned by consideration of the connections between self and identity, the power of narrative and discourse as ways into understanding the nature of identity, the roles that reflection and emotion play in its shaping, links between identity and agency, and the power that contextual factors have to constrain and hinder or promote its development.

A number of studies report the influence of contextual factors on the development of or shifts in teacher identity. For example, the impact of reformist neo-liberal imperatives for change on schoolteachers and their work, and hence their professional identity, is well reported in recent international literature. Day, Elliot, and Kington (2005, p. 566), for example, suggest that:

Policy changes and reformist imperatives have left many teachers themselves feeling confused about their professional identity, the extent to which they are now able to use their discretionary judgement - arguably at the heart of their professionalism - and about their capacity to carry out the responsibilities associated with their new performativity identities, which challenge traditional notions of professionalism and professional purposes and practices.

These authors' research on teacher commitment, conducted among experienced teachers in the UK and Australia, suggests that professional commitment is best understood

as a nested phenomenon at the centre of which is a set of core, relatively permanent values based on personal beliefs and on images of self, role and identity, and that these are subject to socio-political changes.

Day, Stobart, Sammons, and Kington (2006) distinguish two kinds of professional identity emerging in the reformist landscape for UK teachers: one characterised by a broadening ethical-professional self-vision, and one characterised by a more restricted, outcome-focused or instrumentalist self-vision. The larger VITAE study from which these authors' smaller work was drawn, positioned teachers' identities as central in the mediation between structure and agency, and found that teachers' responses to the reforms were determined by the extent to which they were able to sustain and/or manage changes in their existing identity.

Sachs (1999, 2001) describes a similarly bifurcated impact of structural change in respect of shaping Australian schoolteachers' professional identity. She contends that change, uncertainty and continuous restructuring have seen the simultaneous emergence of both managerialist and democratic teacher professional identities, and that these are often at loggerheads with each other, partly because different political groups advocated for them. Sachs (2001) also maintains that teachers' professional bodies and unions promote democratic professionalism, whereas bureaucratic systems and employers advocate managerial forms of professionalism. She argues for the development of a third alternative - an "activist professional identity in which collaborative cultures are part of teachers' work practices" (Sachs, 2001, p. 9).

Other studies done in the school sector emphasise the emotional content or dimensions of teachers' identities and the impact of structural change on their sense of individual agency. Using a socio-cultural lens, Lasky (2005) investigated how four teachers experienced the current reform context and its impact on their sense of agency and feelings of professional vulnerability. Her study highlighted teachers' sense of constraint in terms of their agency and professional selves in the current reformist climate. Nias (1989b), however, emphasises the connection between the *personal* and the *professional* in teachers' lives, as well as the emotional and organisational components of identity, and how these connect to individual agency and its interplay with structure.

Further studies examine the contextual factors that play a role in revealing or formulating professional identity, although the authors of many of these studies do not define what they mean by the term. Some (Nias, 1989b; Kelchtermans, 1993a) argue that personal identity (defined simply as self-image) is a key factor in teaching effectiveness, and that all

classroom experiences, organisational cultures, and situation-specific personal and professional events affect it in both positive and negative ways (Day et al., 2006). Others focus on single events and their impact on professional identity. Gaziel's (1995) study of the impact of sabbatical on teacher burnout found that time out of the classroom led to a more positive sense of professional identity. Paechter and Head (1996) found that those teachers teaching low-status subjects (e.g., design and technology, physical education) located their professional identity more in their self-image as teachers in general, rather than in themselves as subject-skills specialists in particular, and that their experience of teaching such 'marginal' subjects was a constant battle against gendered stereotypes. Day and colleagues (2006) suggest that while there may be differences in the formation of professional identity between primary and secondary teachers in terms of the differential links between personal and professional selves of teachers, there are "unavoidable interrelationships" (p. 602) or inextricable links between these identities.

Other studies have investigated the interrelation between different areas of teacher knowledge expertise in formulating teachers' professional expertise and identity. For example, the sample group of 80 teachers in a study by Beijaard et al. (2000) saw themselves as having a combination of subject-matter, didactic knowledge and pedagogical expertise. Despite some differences across teachers of different subjects, the study suggested that didactic knowledge and pedagogical expertise tended to dominate over time. Other findings were that teacher self-image and identity developed over time and, interestingly, that teachers' perceptions of their professional identity at any one point in time did not appear to correlate with experiential or biographical factors. Other studies have argued the opposite, concluding that self-image is intensely situated in individuals' professional histories, and that a narrative-biographical approach constitutes a more than viable way for understanding teachers' 'development' as professionals (Drake, Spillane, & Hufferd-Ackles, 2001; Kelchtermans, 1993a, 1993b).

This particular theme in the schoolteacher professional identity literature is largely methodological in significance: whatever it may look like, or whatever may influence or change it over time, identity is frequently explored through story and narrative. Narrative is a fundamental structure of human meaning-making (Bruner, 1986, 2004; Polkinghorne 1988, 1996), and narrative and biographic approaches have often been used to bring self-awareness to teacher personal identity and thus give it personal interpretation and shape (Van Manen, 1994). Kerby (1991), cited in Cooper and Olson (1996, p. 1), suggests "the self is given content, is delineated and embodied, primarily in narrative constructions or stories", and that

we create ourselves primarily through the stories we tell: “The self, as implied subject, appears to be inseparable from the narrative or life story it constructs for itself or otherwise inherits ... it is from this story that a sense of self is generated” (Cooper & Olson, 1996, p. 6).

Identity formation and development can thus be understood in terms of narrative structure. Elbaz (1991) argues that story offers a powerful way through which teachers and researchers can make sense of their work. So, too, do colleagues Michael Connelly and Jean Clandinin when they refer to teachers’ professional identity as “stories to live by” (see Clandinin & Connelly, 1995, 1998, 2000; Connelly and Clandinin, 1990). Connelly and Clandinin’s stories of teachers, in particular, demonstrate the interrelatedness of personal and practical knowledge, of context and of professional knowledge in these authors’ descriptions of what they often refer to as the “landscape” of teacher identity. For them and many others in the literature on school teachers and teacher thinking, it is through the narrative theorising of their stories that teachers make sense of themselves and their practice.

In summing up the importance of personal history in eliciting an identity for schoolteachers, Kelchtermans (1993a, 1993b) argues that a biographical perspective as a theoretical approach has five general features: it is narrative, constructivist, conceptualistic, interactionistic and dynamic. In other words, teachers construct and interpret meaning about their professional lives through the retelling of their stories of events, interactions and experiences, all of which are physically, historically, socially, culturally and institutionally and spatially and temporally situated. In short, telling one’s stories is not enough.

What is of significance is, first, the comprehensiveness of the story in covering all of the possible influences on identity and, second, the narrative theorising and connecting of these stories to the universal. While Acker (1997, p. 65) notes that “one advantage of narrative is that history makes itself evident in the world of its actors”, Van Manen (1994, p. 160) urges that the narrative process must be shaped towards “the more universal pedagogical questions or themes that are dialogically relevant to those who share pedagogical responsibilities for children.” Many other studies (e.g., Ballantyne, Bain, & Packer, 1999; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Drake et al., 2001; Kelchtermans, 1993a, 1996) highlight the importance of story or narrative as a way of examining the complexities of teaching, and of ‘getting at’ notions of professional identity, by identifying and analysing the context in which the teaching occurs and the beliefs and values which underpin it. Such studies contribute to our broader understandings of how teachers cope with the rapid changes that confront them in schools and how they make sense of the myriad and complex cognitive and affective components of their professional lives (Beijaard et al., 2004).

The key ideas that the (school) teacher literature has contributed in terms of defining or exploring professional identity in educational contexts serve to reinforce the concept of professional identity as I have defined it earlier in the chapter. This concept of professional identity derives from multiple influences - some internal and embedded in the intensely personal, and some external, embedded in socio-cultural and political contexts. Its construction is an amalgam of personal agency or commitment on the one hand, and externally imposed, normative pressures on the other, held in dynamic tension. Professional identity evolves and changes over time. It consists of more than one's knowledge/expertise and more than one's job history or personal biography, but it includes these. It is also, in some way, 'core' or central to one's effectiveness in the job. It has powerful emotional and value laden components and, I have argued, any discussion of it must go beyond mere descriptions of self-image to investigate the sense of self-worth involved. While it is (most) often and powerfully understood through professional narratives and stories, it must also involve teachers theorising about themselves as professional agents.

Professional Identity in Studies of Teacher Educators

Internationally, empirical studies that focus either specifically or (more often) contingently on the professional identity of teacher educators fall broadly into three categories:

- Studies in higher education of the demographics of teacher educators, as a particular disciplinary community or sub-group.
- Studies (mainly from Western jurisdictions) of recent neo-liberal and managerialist reformism in tertiary education policy, and its impact on the work and lives of academics generally or, occasionally, of teacher educators in particular.
- Case studies, action research or self-studies of individual teacher educators as academics. These comprise accounts of teacher educators' own pedagogical beliefs and practices, the professional significance of their race, gender or sexual orientation, the impact of their teaching on student teachers, their roles as research supervisors, and so on.

Among these, studies that focus directly on professional identity, that make this their central empirical or theoretical 'lens', are rare and are mainly concentrated in the third of the three literatures.

Attempting to identify exactly who 'teacher educators' are, demographically, has been a fairly consistent preoccupation of teacher educator research for the last two decades. The

1980s and early 1990s, for example, saw a number of international demographic studies of teacher educators. Ducharme (1993), Ducharme and Agne (1982), Turney and Wright (1990), and the AACTE-sponsored RATE surveys of 1987–1991 all contributed significant demographic data about teacher educators, allowing an examination of ‘who, what, and when’. Yet defining who was and who was not a ‘teacher educator’ was not always clear-cut, as one study of 34 teacher education faculty members in 11 US institutions shows (Ducharme, 1993). In describing teacher educators as “an ill-defined and poorly understood segment of the higher education faculty population” (p. 3), Ducharme highlighted in his research the ongoing difficulties associated with both identification and definition: few of those described as teacher educators actually ‘identified’ themselves as such. This situation, Ducharme argued, stemmed partly from the perceived low status in the academy of teacher education generally. However, as the author of a more recent US study (Cochran-Smith, 2003, p. 22) notes, the reason could also be due, in part, to the increasingly multi-faceted, and even ‘farmed-out’, nature of the role: “Many teacher educators are part-time, adjunct, temporary, and/or clinical faculty and fieldwork supervisors; graduate students who supervise as a part of financial assistantships or part-time jobs; and school-based personnel who work as site-based supervisors, coordinators and school-university liaisons”.

Korthagen, Loughran, and Lunenburg (2005), writing from a Dutch perspective, also argue that such ‘vagueness’ seems to have increased in the last two decades, partly as a function of the shift of the responsibility for the preparation of future teachers from universities to schools in several Northern Hemisphere contexts. Across the Tasman, Ling (2002) also highlights the casualisation of teacher education staff, noting how universities have become ever more reliant on casual staff in order to adapt to an increasingly competitive world of scarce resources.

Closer to home, a large-scale Australian study (Turney & Wright, 1990) reported the CRETE project,¹² based on a survey of 1,600 teacher educators from 56 tertiary institutions. Like the demographic researchers in the US before them, the authors grappled with the identification issue, eventually deciding to “concentrate mainly on tertiary staff in education schools, departments, or faculties who were directly involved in teaching teachers, be they from foundational courses, teaching and curriculum studies or specific curriculum courses” (p. 5). While not a study of identity or professional identity *per se*, the study contributes

¹² CRETE is the acronym for Characteristics, Roles and Effects of Teacher Educators, the purpose of which was threefold: to identify the characteristics of teacher educators, to analyse and describe their roles, and to explore and discern the desired and actual effects of their work on the students they were educating.

useful demographic information on the characteristics of teacher educators in the Australian context, including their gender, ethnicity, age, social origins, educational background, teaching experience, research and scholarship. Turney and Wright found that, in general, teacher educators in the late 1980s were white, male, English first-language speakers, middle-class, aging and ex-school-teachers (p. 92). While, in many ways, the Turney and Wright study mirrors data from other studies (Ducharme, 1993; Reynolds, McCullough, Bendixen-Noe & Morrow, 1994) and is two decades old, it is nonetheless important, given the historical and cultural similarities between Australia and New Zealand and its replication of earlier studies in Australia (Correy, 1980; Beswick Harman, Elsworth, Fallon, & Woock, 1980). Except for the gender difference,¹³ the teacher educators in the study that informs this thesis fit similar demographics.

Ducharme and Agne (1982) found that, in the US, most college of education faculty entered institutions of higher learning later than other faculty members in academia, with over 70% of them having held full-time teaching positions in elementary or secondary schools prior to their professorial duties. Reynolds, McCullough, Bendixen-Noe, & Morrow's (1994) US study also confirms earlier demographic studies. Their attempt to synthesise what is known about American university teacher educators by statistically examining the relationships between their formative experiences, personal and professional characteristics and their perceptions of professional rewards and recognition, confirmed that the typical teacher educator in the US at the time was a white, Anglo, 50-year-old male, reared in a lower- to middle-class rural environment and generally favourably disposed towards his job. Lanier and Little (1986) correlated the socio-economic status (SES) background of teacher educators with their academic status. The authors found that the teacher educators they surveyed were "disproportionately ... from lower middle class backgrounds ... [and had] conformist orientations and utilitarian views of knowledge derived from their childhood experiences at home, educational opportunities at school, and restrictive conditions of work as teachers before coming to higher education" (p. 535). The authors related the teacher educators' low status and humble origins to the "lower level" of skills and knowledge required of these educators than of those individuals in other academic disciplines. Lanier and Little even suggested that the "typical lineage of teacher educators ha[d] not prepared them to appreciate the traditional values of higher education" (p. 533). While Turney and Wright (1990) critique Lanier and Little's conclusions on a number of grounds, they nonetheless

¹³ In contrast to the findings of these US and Australian studies, most of the teacher educators in this study were female, a fact that may be influenced by the discipline area from which they were drawn.

acknowledge that they were “within a popular - though far from adequately demonstrated - tradition when they argue that education cannot surmount the intellectual shortcomings of a social background” (p. 13).

As Houston, Meyer, and Paewai (1990) and Sikula, Buttery, and Guyton (1996) note, problems of definition and delimitation have persisted. In their chapter titled “Professors and Deans of Education” in the 1990 edition of the *Handbook of Research on Teacher Education*, Howey and Zimpher embedded their analysis within the wider university context to determine how education professors ‘measured up’. The authors reviewed the professors in terms of their social demography, background characteristics, career patterns, workload and productivity. More usefully, perhaps, Howey and Zimpher’s survey of relevant studies highlighted gaps in the literature on the education professoriate. They identified the need for research in a number of areas, including but not limited to, role definition and functions, the key enabling and constraining personal and contextual influences on the professors’ effectiveness, the motives and expectations of these individuals, their socialisation and acculturation, and the range of activities faculty engage in. In short, Howey and Zimpher’s review showed that there was still much we did not know about this group.

The ‘equivalent’ chapter in the second edition of the *Handbook of Research on Teacher Education* (Zimpher & Sherrill, 1996) drew more heavily on eight years of RATE studies (AACTE, 1987–1994). The chapter highlights the issues relating to the current professional agenda of the time, including discussion of the emergence of field-based teacher educators such as co-operating teacher, in-school mentors and clinical faculty. From the RATE and other studies, the authors concluded that the teacher educators of the time were mainly white, male, highly degreed, tenured and ranked professors, who had been in their current positions for some time. They also noted that more women than men served in assistant professor roles (although they were rising through the ranks quickly in urban settings), that women carried a disproportionate involvement in field-based activities, that men were more research-active, and that there was more ethnic diversity in urban settings. As a group, the teacher educators surveyed were generally characterised as hardworking and committed, liking their work but feeling unappreciated.

In a more recent, personal reflection on the status of teacher educators, Baines (2003) echoes the prevailing negative discourse around teacher education. He quotes his doctoral advisor, who labelled teacher education the “bozo syndrome”. In other words, education was seen as a waste of time in the academy and the status of teacher education undermined at every turn. Baines concluded: “Those afflicted with [the bozo syndrome] are often the

severest critics of public education, yet most have not set foot in a K–12 classroom since they graduated from high school” (p. 2). Such comments may strike a chord with many teacher educators in New Zealand, where the commonest pathway historically into teacher education has been a practitioner one and where, until recently at least, it would be almost unheard of for a teacher educator *not* to have had teaching experience in a school.

While the term ‘teacher education’ appears to carry with it an understanding that it is to do with the education of teachers across all levels and sectors, the label of ‘teacher educator’ as a role, job designation or title is still clearly problematic internationally, not least because of institutional variation in the nature of teacher educators’ work, their responsibilities and their degrees of involvement with student teachers.

As noted earlier (p.11) one could argue that the forming of the American Research in Education Association (AERA) Special Interest Group (SIG): Self-Study of Teacher Education Practices (S-STEP) has gone some way towards reclaiming some status for the name, role and work that teacher educators do. Certainly, Zeichner’s often-cited 1998 AERA vice-presidential keynote address about the potential contributions that self-study and the S-STEP SIG can make to the revitalisation of teacher education has claimed some status for the work of teacher educators. As he later noted (1999, p. 8): “... the birth of the self-study in teacher education movement around 1990 has been probably the single most significant development ever in the field of teacher education research.”

In the New Zealand context, until recently at least, the term ‘teacher educator’ has arguably had greater clarity of meaning and possibly even higher status than in many overseas jurisdictions, because, as a term, it has historically been used to identify those educators working with pre-service teachers in specialist teacher education institutions. Until the recent institutional amalgamations in New Zealand, the problem of identification was less problematic because well over 90% of primary and secondary level teachers trained in stand-alone colleges of education, and the pre-service preparation of teachers was historically the institution’s ‘core business’. The relocation of teacher education into universities has posed threats and challenges to these old identities, as well as opportunities to expand them. It is noteworthy, too, however, that the label ‘teacher educator’ - hitherto a label historically used exclusively for *pre-service* - has now been appropriated in New Zealand for *all* those working in in-service. It has become a catch-all label, replacing traditional terms such as ‘adviser’, ‘associate teacher’ and even ‘in-school professional developer’.

The authors of several studies designed to analyse the impact of neo-liberal political and economic policies and the consequent institutional restructuring on higher education

generally have commented on the influence of these policies and restructurings on the academic identities of those working within this area of education. Within their various national contexts, Bates (2005a, 200b), Clegg (2008), Harris (2005), Nixon (1996), and Smith (2000), for example, have all argued that the fragmentation of the academic workplace, together with increased differentials between individuals in respect of status and autonomy, have had a profound effect on the roles and professional identity of university teachers generally. Young (2006) argues that the largely private nature of teaching means that its outputs are less easily measurable or visible, and that evidence of effectiveness is less tangible than that of research. Clegg (2008) suggests that despite the pressure of performativity, individual professors have been able to maintain distinctive, strongly framed academic identities and to create spaces where they could continue to exercise autonomy. Harris (2005) goes even further, arguing that traditional signifiers of academic identity, namely, academic freedom, autonomy and purpose, are no longer relevant in the current ideological climate. In any redefinition of our identity as academics, she argues, retaining agency is crucial: it is important for academics to see the possibilities and opportunities for challenging the negative and destructive aspects of neo-liberal modes of governance.

Other studies examine the tensions resulting from shifts in agency and status with respect to the work and identity of academics through the lens of gender, class and/or race. These focus variously on the complexities for women academics of managing children and career, which result in working harder and sleeping less (Acker & Armenti, 2004); the gendered division of labour in teacher education over 30 years (Acker & Dillabough, 2007); the ways in which women administrators, lecturers and managers negotiate and construct their (gendered, racialised and classed) identities in a time of institutional change and restructuring (Leathwood, 2005); and the impact of quality assurance discourses and practices on women in higher education and whether these represent opportunity or exploitation for women in the academy (Morley, 2005). The great majority of these studies, however, are about academics in general, and not about teacher educators in particular.

Among the much smaller group of studies specifically analysing the impact of reformism on teacher education, Maguire's (2000) study, conducted in England, describes the "limiting" academic discourses around the roles and the status of teacher educators and their "marginalized positioning" in the academy, whereas Cooper, Ryan, Gay, and Perry's (1999) stories of a group of Australian teacher educators highlight the non-linear, positive and proactive way in which the latter have approached change, despite increased expectations and work intensification. While none of these studies overtly uses the concept of identity as its

analytic lens, they are nonetheless studies of professional identity; the impact of the current political, social, cultural, institutional changes on the (re)construction of academics' professional and personal identities, and on their cognitive, emotional and physical responses to the reforms is implicit.

Another body of literature to address aspects of identity or self specifically for teacher educators is the self-study literature, emerging from the S-STEP SIG of AERA. However, these studies also tend to be dominated by individual case studies that refer to identity or professional identity only in passing, rather than taking these terms as their central focus of empirical enquiry, or key analytical lens. Lighthall's chapter in the *International Handbook of Self-Study of Teaching and Teacher Education Practices* (2004), for example, identifies one key strand in this literature as autobiography - using a definition of 'self' that focuses on individual subjective experiences in shaping one's life and as a way of capturing experience and the experience of being a teacher educator (or student of teaching). As such, the examinations in the *International Handbook* and in the seven proceedings of the S-STEP Herstmonceux conferences (1996–2008) of individuals' professional practices or pedagogy/ies, their insights into self, beliefs and values, and their analyses of the processes of professional renewal and shifting roles certainly carry with them insights into issues related to professional identity (see also, for example, Dinkelman, Margolis, & Sikkenga, 2006; Doecke, 2004; Fitzgerald, 2004; Kitchen, 2005; Murphy, Pinnegar, & Pinnegar, 2008; Parker, 1998; Weber & Mitchell, 2000). These examinations also implicitly assume a definition of professional identity compatible with that of 'the valued professional self', even when they are not specifically surfaced or articulated in identity terms.

Thus, although there are a number of very recent studies that explore aspects of the professional identities of individual teacher educators, and the particular occasions or contexts in which these are in the process of (re)formation/(re)construction, little by way of essentialised theory or conceptual modelling has yet emerged that accounts for, or synthesises, or even presents as conceptually problematic, the key characteristics of teacher educators' professional identity. Despite Zeichner's (2007) often referenced critique of the current body of S-STEP and teacher educator research and the need for research to go further and thereby more closely connect to "the mainstream of teacher education research so that the voices of practicing teacher educators are incorporated into syntheses of research on particular aspects of teacher education" (p. 36), there is still little, in terms of teacher educator identity, that goes 'beyond the individual story'.

CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY: INVESTIGATING A PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY

You never really understand a person until you consider things from his point of view ...
until you climb into his skin and walk around in it.
(Harper Lee, *To Kill a Mockingbird*, Chapter 3)

This thesis seeks to understand how a group of New Zealand teacher educators conceptualise their professional roles and practices, and, ultimately, how they have constructed their identities as teacher educators. To do this, it investigates a number of facets of their experience of teacher education. It explores their initial motivation for joining the profession, the nature of their daily work, the knowledge bases and pedagogies that inform their practice, their personalised experience of the socio-educative roles involved, and the professional communities they feel allegiance to or part of. All of these are interpreted as indicators and aspects of what might be called their ‘professional identity’.

Methodology

The study is situated within a qualitative research paradigm and involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Merriam (1998) claims that the characteristics of qualitative and quantitative research paradigms differ in the following respects: the focus of the research (the quality or nature or essence of a phenomenon versus how much, how many of a quantity); their philosophical roots; the associated phrases used; the goals of their investigations; their design characteristics; their sampling principles; their data collection preferences; their modes of analysis; and the ways in which the findings of the research are presented for public scrutiny.

Despite the historical complexity and contested nature of qualitative research as a terrain, the fact that it has meant different things at different historical “moments” and the fact that it “crosscuts disciplines, fields and subject matters” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 2), some consensus around its key characteristics has nevertheless emerged. Qualitative social research is situated and field-centred. It involves researchers immersing themselves in naturally occurring social phenomena, and in taking “an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world” (p. 5), whereby they transform aspects of that world into a set of representations

(Denzin & Lincoln, 2005), even as “the open, emergent nature of interpretivist approaches means a lack of standardization; ... [and that] there are no clear criteria to package into neat research steps” (Glesne, 1999, p. 6). Qualitative researchers stress the “socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is being studied and the situational constraints that shape [it] ... and emphasise the value-laden nature of inquiry” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 10).

While, ideally at least, no particular method or practice is privileged over another, and an acceptance of postmodern sensibilities is at its core, qualitative research may nevertheless draw on a variety of epistemological approaches, and on technical methods from a number of disciplines. At the ‘approach’ level, these include ethnomethodology, phenomenology, hermeneutics, feminism, critical theory, semiotics and so forth. At the ‘methods’ level, qualitative research includes techniques ranging from open-ended, large population surveys to single-case observational studies, from ethnographies to action research, and so on. Such a cross-paradigmatic focus and multi-method approach to research inevitably results not just in an ongoing critique of the politics and methods of positivism and post-positivism, but also in ongoing debates and tensions among researchers themselves working from different positions within that qualitative paradigm (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

The vast and complex terrain of qualitative research offers the researcher ‘an embarrassment of choices’ in terms of methods, strategies and approaches, the ultimate decision about which is, of course, determined not by methodological preference *per se*, but by the appropriateness of a given method or methodology for a given research interest. In this case, that research interest is professional identity: a group of teacher educators’ conceptualisations of teacher education and their experiences of it as a valued professional life.

Phenomenology and the interpretive paradigm

Phenomenology is the study of lived experiences and the ways in which we understand those experiences to develop a world view. (Marshall & Rossman, 1999, p. 112)

This study seeks to generate a rich understanding of how a group of teacher educators in a career currently ‘on the cusp’ of radical change and historically ‘on the margins’ of the academy conceptualise their practice and make meaning of their professional lives. It is concerned with developing an in-depth picture of their espoused theories (Argyris & Schön,

1974), experiences, knowledges, beliefs and sense of professional community(ies), in such a way that the reader can in some way enter or gain insight into the social and professional world of teacher educators involved in secondary teacher education in New Zealand at the turn of the 21st century. The study draws on what Denzin and Lincoln (2005) call a constructivist-interpretive paradigm, which assumes a relativist ontology that recognises multiple realities; a subjectivist epistemology, where the researcher (or knower) and participant (or respondent) co-create understandings; and interpretive methods, where I, as a necessarily ‘participant’ researcher take an inductive and reflexive approach to data analysis.

Given its central interest in a particular group’s conceptions, feelings and understandings about their own (professional) lives, this project draws substantially on the phenomenological tradition in social research, itself derived from philosophic methods first developed by Husserl and later adapted to sociological contexts by others such as Schutz. Epistemologically, phenomenology is an interpretive practice, which, like other interpretive approaches, challenges a positivist scientific view of knowledge as orderly, quantifiable, logical and measurable, and of the world as an objective, external and unambiguous reality where the researcher’s role is to take a distant, objective, dispassionate stance on the facts as they are revealed. According to Van Manen (1997, p. 36), “Lived experience is the starting point and the end point of phenomenological research.” Phenomenology is the study of lived or existential meanings, “attempting to explicate the meanings as we live them in our everyday existence, our life-world” (Van Manen, 1990, p. 9). Like the Humanities in general, phenomenology is thus distinguished from traditional sciences on the grounds that “it aims at gaining a deeper understanding of the nature or meaning of our everyday experiences. Phenomenology asks: What is this or that experience like? It differs from other science in that it attempts to gain insightful descriptions of the way we experience the world (Van Manen, 1990, p. 9).

Although phenomenology has its roots in philosophical psychology, as it is most often used in educational research today, the term covers studies of how people experience social phenomena, the meanings they make of such experiences, and how such meanings are (socially and personally) constructed. Phenomenologists aim to get beneath the ways in which people describe their experiences, in order to search for the essential structures or meanings underlying those experiences (Bentz & Shapiro, 1998). As a study of lived experiences, achieved through an explication of how these experiences are understood (Marshall & Rossman, 2006), phenomenology is concerned with exploring the whole and the

essence of a phenomenon, using in-depth description, or what Geertz (1983a, 1983b) calls “thick description”, of those understandings and, through them, the experiences they represent. As he explains, “thick descriptions present in close detail the context and meanings of events and scenes that are relevant to those involved in them” (1983a, p. 24).

Phenomenologists are therefore interested in human behaviour, but not as behaviourists are interested in behaviour. They are not simply interested in what people *do*, isolated, as it were, from what they think, intend, conceptualise, believe or value. They regard behaviour as a product of how people define and value their world (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). The task of the phenomenologist is to capture how people construct these realities and, in turn, similarly to “construct an animating, evocative description of human actions, behaviours, intentions and experiences as we meet them in the lifeworld” (Van Manen, 1990, p. 19). Radnor (2001, p. 8) gives a succinct description of the task: “Phenomenologists describe and interpret the phenomena of personal lived experiences, their own and/or other people’s. The interest is in the contextualized personal individual meanings, with the aim of understanding and recording the meanings which people make of their experiences.”

Although there are different research forms within this broad phenomenological tradition, each with a different methodological emphasis (e.g., ethnomethodology versus symbolic interactionism), fundamental to them all is a rejection of an external, objective notion of reality alongside a common focus on how people operate as social beings in the world and how they make meaning of their own experiences.

Given that my intention in this research is to get at an understanding of, and to create a rich depiction of, the ways in which the participants in the study conceptualise and understand their lived experience as teacher educators, based on their own subjective descriptions of their professional lives and the forces that shape and have shaped those experiences, the study is a ‘phenomenological’ one.

Hermeneutics

The second significant epistemological tradition on which the study draws is that of hermeneutics. Hermeneutics foregrounds the importance of the historical and cultural contexts and the role of place and time in social experiences, as well as the interpretations or meaning-making processes that we wrap around them. Bentz and Shapiro (1998), for example, describe various individual hermeneutic perspectives that adopt different approaches and strategies to analysis but share several common key characteristics. For example, they all argue that the closer the researcher is to the phenomenon under study, the

more accurate and hence more valid their interpretation is likely to be; that hermeneutic research is often blended with, or overlaps, other cultures of inquiry, such as phenomenology, ethnography or cultural studies; that research is openly dialogic in nature; and that it has a “route to understanding through iterative use of patterns, metaphors, stories and models to amplify understanding” (p. 111). In short, based on the belief that the researcher is inevitably embedded and implicated in the context of explanation (simultaneously seen as a problem with, and a basis for, validation), the purpose of hermeneutics is to provide greater contextual awareness and perspective during the analysis process.

Because this study is of a group whose professional experiences were significantly shaped and constructed by the particular historical period and the locations in which they live out their professional lives, I considered it important to take a hermeneutic position into account during the process of interpretation.

Methods

Participants in the study

Participants for this study were drawn from around New Zealand and from all of the main historical sites of teacher education in the country. All are currently, or have been in the past, dominantly engaged in secondary pre-service teacher education, and all shared a common teaching curriculum area before their entry into teacher education. The features that bind them thus relate to their common roles as teacher educators in English education courses. All of the group taught English or related fields such as drama at secondary schools before becoming teacher educators, and all had spent much of their professional lives within teacher education, teaching at least some English education (‘methods’) courses, as well as more generic ‘professional studies’ courses. There is therefore commonality in the cases I have selected in terms of their teaching backgrounds and their substantive teacher education positions.

Within that broad commonality of background, however, the group was chosen to represent as wide a variation as possible in terms of their likely ‘experience’ of teacher education once they had become teacher educators. The group is thus of mixed gender, and, when the study started in 2003, the lengths of time they had been teacher educators ranged from 1 to almost 20 years. They were also selected to ‘represent’ a range of differentiation in terms of the progress of their subsequent careers within teacher education, in the sense that

some have remained predominantly in English education while others have expanded their teacher education interests well beyond that.

Most important of all, perhaps, especially in terms of the hermeneutics of studying the politico-cultural contexts of their various ‘experiences’, the group was drawn from a range of institutional contexts within which New Zealand teacher pre-service educators work. This variation was geographical in the sense that members of the group work in institutions from all over the country. But it was also historical and cultural in that while some had begun their teacher education careers in a university setting, most had begun their teacher education careers in separate, independent colleges of education. Some were therefore working in institutions that had already experienced a university–college merger prior to the study, and some were working in institutions that underwent that merger during the course of the study. The group thus came from a common subject and school-sector background, but were chosen to represent as full as possible a range of ways and contexts in which they might have ‘experienced’ teacher education beyond and within that.

Table 1: Participant profiles

Name	Gender	Years of TE experience by end of the study	Institution type
Lewis	Male	10+	College of education, merged during study
Maggie	Female	1	College of education, merged during study
Ali	Female	6+	College of education, merged during study
Bella	Female	10+	College of education, merged during study
Anna	Female	10+	College of education, merged during study
Dan	Male	20+	College of education, merged during study
Sarah	Female	20+	University, already merged
Jane	Female	15+	College of education, merged during study
Rachel	Female	10+	University, merged during study

Note: names are pseudonyms.

In 2003, I approached 10 individuals either by email or face-to-face to invite them to take part in this study. All except one responded affirmatively. This person did not respond at all. The nine who accepted my invitation did so with considerable interest and enthusiasm, and all but one have continued their involvement over the five years of the study. The exception was a newly appointed teacher educator who left teacher education to return to a school position after one year's experience on secondment. Her story is represented only in relation to the first theme: *On Becoming*. Table 1 provides a brief profile of each participant.

Data collection

Interviews

In keeping with a phenomenological approach, the main data-gathering method was the interview - what Benney and Hughes (1973) call “the ‘favored digging tool’ of a social researcher” (quoted in Taylor & Bogdan, 1998, p. 87). Given that my topic was a study of the meanings a specific group of people make/made of their professional experiences, I believed it appropriate to use a series of ongoing, in-depth interviews as the main mode of data collection for the study. Such a method offered the advantage of providing depth of explanation and rich detail and meaning, both at a very personal level and over an extended interval of time.

The iterative nature of the interviews also offered both the participants and me, as interviewer, an opportunity to explore experiences over a period of considerable institutional upheaval for many of them. These extended opportunities also offered reflection time between interviews and allowed for substantial personal rapport to be built between me, as researcher, and them, as colleague-participants. The iterative approach also allowed us to revisit topics discussed on previous occasions and for greater probing around particular issues and incidents as they emerged. It furthermore meant that structure, in terms of ‘set questions’, did not dominate and that the interviews became much more akin to professional conversations between colleagues. This allowed for elaboration, digressions, personal expression of feelings and greater freedom and flexibility, in keeping with what Douglas (1985) defines as ‘creative interviewing’, or what Kvale (1996, p. 14) describes as “*an interview*, an exchange of views between two persons conversing about a theme of mutual interest”. I provide a fuller discussion of the literature on the validity issues around interviews as a method later in this chapter.

Over a period of five years, I conducted between three and seven in-depth interviews with each person, depending on his or her availability. The interview schedule included the series of three face-to-face interviews conducted with three members of the group that formed the 'pilot' phase of the study. These pilot interviews served a dual purpose. They afforded me the chance to conduct an initial 'scoping' of the types of experiences the participants were likely to regard as significant in conceptualising their roles as teacher educators. They also offered me a chance to practise and get feedback on my interviewing technique. The pilot interviews highlighted several methodological tensions, both of a practical and a conceptual nature, which I raise below. I also explain their implications for my practice in the subsequent interviews.

While practical matters are often overlooked in the literature on interviews, they can assume considerable significance for those involved in the process and can shape the way the event is constructed and experienced. For the 'pilot' round of face-to-face interviews, I used an orthodox tape-recorder. This practice proved to be problematic on a several grounds. It was cumbersome, obtrusive and, on one occasion, the tape ran out, unobserved, before completion of the interview. Some vital discussion was missed and our attempts to retrace thinking and discussion threads was unsuccessful. While the subsequent interviewing process was not always as complete as I would have liked - one part of an interview failed to record because of my ineptitude with the record button, for example - my change to a digital recorder streamlined both the recording and the transcription processes, and ensured audio-files were easy to access. While each participant and I were aware of the 'recorded' nature of the occasion, the smaller size of the digital recorder meant that recording was less intrusive, required less monitoring, and let both of us better ignore its presence.

Throughout, however, I struggled with my anxiety over failing technology. In early interviews, in particular, I supplemented transcripts with a kind of running commentary, having first checked that the participant was comfortable with me taking notes as we talked. I never failed to feel self-conscious about this because of the highly interactive nature of the interviews and my wish to maintain eye contact, although my writing did not seem to bother those participants whom I already knew well.

In my attempt to downplay the formality of the interview and to put my participants at ease, I conducted part of one pilot interview in an institutional staffroom over coffee. However, the interference of background noise in a large space resulted in poor sound quality, loss of some recording and subsequent difficulties with transcription. An attempt to record another interview in a café created similar problems. These experiences highlighted

the tension between accommodating participants' preferred place to conduct the interview and my own agendas concerning clarity of recording. After negotiation, later interviews frequently took place in participants' offices or classrooms and, very occasionally, their homes, where there was more ample space, few(er) interruptions and (usually) quiet.

Most of the interviews conducted during the main study, and all of those in the pilot, were conducted face-to-face. Because the participants were geographically spread around New Zealand, I sometimes had to time these interviews to coincide with opportunities that the participants and I had to meet for other professional purposes. At other times, I made special trips to visit participants. On a few occasions I was able to have several discussions with a participant over a two-day visit to his or her town. Nearly all the interviews were between one and two hours in duration. I also conducted a few phone interviews. Generally, these were shorter in duration and had a specific 'selective' focus in mind, resulting from my desire to return to the 'field' to clarify or amplify areas of interest or to conduct 'member checking'. Table 2 summarises the logistics of the interview process.

All interviews were transcribed, either by me or by a research assistant. During analysis, I listened to the audio recordings at the same time as I scanned the transcripts.

Field texts

Other than the recordings and transcripts of the interviews themselves, the field texts that I accumulated during the study were of two types: field notes taken during the interviews themselves, and a series of reflexive researcher journals. The field notes taken during the interviews consisted mostly of a discussion of key phrases and key concepts. I attempted to synthesise the main ideas for future reference and to pinpoint comments that seemed to distil emerging ideas. These I tagged to times within the interviews for easier reference. Other field notes included occasional emails, letters, and records of informal conversations.

Throughout the entire process, I wrote extensively in researcher journals. In these I included my general intuitive impressions of the process, the nature of the event, questions that I wanted to follow-up, notes about puzzles and apparent contradictions that had arisen, and my subsequent wonderings and initial interpretations as they were forming across my participant group as a whole. I maintained individual journals for each participant between interviews, where I attempted to trace and compare over time their preoccupations of the moment, events that were occurring in each of their professional lives between interviews, and any patterns or themes that seemed to be emerging from the interviews. This tactic became particularly important in respect of the participants whose institutions were being

merged during the study. I also kept another, more personal, journal that included creative pieces, large numbers of poems and my own narratives on issues of current concern for me as a practitioner and as a researcher.

Table 2: Summary of the interview process

Name	Pilot Interviews 2003	Interviews 2004	Interviews 2005	Interviews 2006	Interviews 2007	Interviews 2008
Lewis	<i>April</i> 1.15 hours	<i>April</i> 1.15 hours	<i>April</i> 2.30 hours	<i>July (phone)</i> 45 minutes	<i>July</i> 1 hour	<i>December</i> 1.15 hours
Maggie		<i>April</i> 1.30 hours <i>December</i> 1.10 hours				
Ali	<i>April</i> 1 hour	<i>September</i> 2.20 hours <i>December:</i> 1. 20 hours		<i>July</i> 2. 30 hours		<i>Jan</i> 50 minutes
Bella	<i>April</i> 45 minutes	<i>August</i> 1 hour <i>December</i> 1.50 hours		<i>December</i> 1. 30 hours	<i>February</i> 1 hour	
Anna		<i>August</i> 1.50 hours	<i>May:</i> 1.45 hours	<i>June</i> 1.45 hours <i>November</i> 1.50 hours		<i>Jan</i> 1.15 hours
Dan		<i>April</i> 1. 40 hours	<i>July</i> 1. 20 hours	<i>September</i> 55 minutes	<i>September</i> 50 minutes	
Sarah		<i>April</i> 2 hours		<i>February</i> 1.50 hours 2 hours		
Jane	<i>April</i> 1.45 hours	<i>August</i> 1. 40 hours <i>December</i> 1.20 hours		<i>September</i> 1.20 hours		
Rachel	<i>April</i> 1.45 hours	<i>August</i> 1.45 hours	<i>December</i> 1.40 hours	<i>September</i> 50 minutes	<i>June</i> 1.26 minutes	

Ethical issues

Consent

Because this study had as its participants consenting adults talking about their own practice, ethical risks were relatively minor. I invited participants to take part by email or face to face, and I followed up this initial approach with written outlines of the purposes of the study and formal permission forms for each of them to sign.

Anonymity

While anonymity is considered an important way of protecting the identity of sites and participants, in New Zealand's relatively small secondary teacher education community, it is problematic. I asked participants in the study whether they were comfortable being identified, and several said they were happy for this to happen. However, I eventually decided to use pseudonyms for all participants, both for the sake of consistency and to protect their privacy. I also decided either not to identify locations or to rename them. Because one objective for this thesis was to evoke the rich individuality of those who participated, as well as their commonalities, I used pen portraits to introduce each person. This approach does magnify the chances of discovery should a reader with a close knowledge of the community closely scrutinise the text. I therefore checked the portraits with all participants interested to ensure that each was comfortable with his or her portrait. I also invited each participant to contribute to that snapshot and to choose his or her pseudonym.

Political sensitivity

During the process of writing the thesis, all the remaining colleges of education not already merged with their local universities underwent amalgamation. The tensions and anxieties that inevitably accompany institutional transformation were considerable for those teacher educators located in merged or merging institutions, and provoked complex emotional responses to their shifts in status and changes in job description. As a matter of methodology, this situation has probably been beneficial to the study because the challenges associated with shifting circumstances often prompt people to think more deeply about their professional roles, beliefs and identities than might otherwise be the case. However, as a matter of research ethics, it also led at times to participants making frank and critical comments about their respective institutions and the ways in which the amalgamations were being or had been managed. On the several occasions in this thesis when I quote statements critical of the

participant's employing institution, I deliberately do not cite or identify the participant, in order to add a further layer of anonymity.

Interviews as method

The qualitative research interview is a construction site of knowledge. An interview is literally an inter-view, an interchange of views between two persons conversing about a theme of mutual importance. (Kvale, 1996, p. 2)

The spoken or written word has always a residue of ambiguity, no matter how carefully we word the questions and how carefully we report or code the answers. (Fontana & Frey, 2003 b, p. 61)

Recent literature raises a number of problematic issues around the 'neutrality' of interviewing as a research tool. While many researchers argue that we increasingly live in an 'interview society' (Atkinson & Silverman, 1997; Silverman, 1993), and although their utility as an important qualitative research method aimed at getting rich and nuanced descriptions is not disputed (Atkinson & Coffey, 2003a, 200b), the 'postmodern moment' has turned the spotlight on the assumptions inherent in the interview process. What in a positivist paradigm seemed straightforward and taken for granted has been increasingly reviewed and re-conceptualised in terms of its 'deceptive simplicity' (Kvale, 1996). The purposes and politics underpinning use of the interview, and the respective roles of interviewer and interviewee within the process, have become the subject of ongoing discussion of the interview's utility and position as a primary data-gathering method.

While acknowledging the interview as the only practical method available for 'getting at' the meanings, beliefs, conceptions and understandings that people have in relation to their social world and their actions within it, qualitative researchers have increasingly recognised the ambiguous and constructed nature of the research interview, and have challenged the narrow traditional view of interviewing grounded in a historical masculinist, positivist paradigm (e.g., Limerick, Burgess-Limerick, & Grace, 1996, Miller & Glassner, 2004; Oakley 1981). The assumptions inherent in such approaches include the interview's uni-directional flow, the potential for decontextualising and depersonalising the interview relationship, and asymmetrical power relationships. Many recent studies (e.g., Fontana & Frey, 2003a, 2003b; Holstein & Gubrium, 2003, 2004) openly acknowledge the influence of the interviewer and have focused on the interactional, dialogic nature of the interview and the interpretively active and dynamic role that each participant plays within an event. As Collins

(1998, ¶ 3.1) notes, “It is rarely obvious where the balance of power lies, between the selves precipitated during this relationship. That is, we have (as interviewers) a limited control not only over what is being said but also over who we are during an interview.”

The potential complexities of the interview situation are therefore many, and it is necessary in any study that uses them as its primary data sources to acknowledge the ambiguous nature of the enterprise, and the deeply intertwined and fluid nature of roles and positions involved (Fontana & Frey, 2003a).

In attempting to resolve these ambiguities, many commentators argue for a non-hierarchical, interactive relationship between interviewer and interviewee, where the interviewer is prepared to make an interpersonal investment in the relationship. As Oakley (1981, p. 48) argues, there is no “intimacy without reciprocity”. Feminist and other postmodern authors similarly advocate that interviewers be ‘visible’ and show their human side, rather than attempt to adopt an artificially neutral, objectifying stance where involvement is seen as ‘contamination’. The importance of the relationship, establishing trust, building rapport and exhibiting empathy are seen as essential elements, rather than as limitations, in establishing the honesty and validity of participants’ responses during a research interview (Fine, 1994; Kvale, 1996).

Earlier conceptions of interviews as sites to *collect pre-existing* knowledge have also been problematised. What was seen as a vice within a positivist view of the value of the interview has been reframed as a virtue from a social constructivist perspective. In these reconceptualisations, interviews are no longer seen as neutral tools for data-gathering, but as productive sites for the co-construction of meaning, which, in turn, are shaped by the contexts and situations in which they take place (Atkinson & Coffey, 2003; Fontana & Frey, 2003a; Gubrium & Holstein, 2003a, 2003b, Holstein & Gubrium, 2003; Vincent & Warren, 2001). Given current perspectives on the nature of knowledge and reality, and the emphasis on the idea that all reality, especially social reality, is what is made of it, such complexities seem inevitable. This complexity is compounded by the simultaneity of things happening (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). As highly subjective, creative processes, interviews are now seen as complex interactional conversations in which both the interviewer and the respondent have voice, and in which two (or more) human beings strive to construct together, and to understand together, their explanations, stories, definitions, descriptions and ideas about the world. As Beer (1997, p. 110) argues, “in the final analysis, it is the subjectivity of the qualitative interview, its being influenced by and affecting both interviewer and respondent that makes discovery possible in qualitative research.”

Thus, the interview itself is dialogic, involving “a carnival of voices and a concatenation of events” (Collins, 1998, ¶ 2.6). The dynamic interactions that take place are structured, untidily, by both interviewer and interviewee, and the interview itself is creative site of self-generation for both, where (multiple) selves are not only presented but also constituted and constructed through the telling itself (Beer, 1997). Nor is it only a cognitive process, but one where emotions, themselves socially constructed, are entangled.

Other postmodern researchers, such as Scheurich (1997, p. 73), go even further, arguing that “an indeterminable ambiguity, a ‘wild profusion’ lies at the heart of the interview interaction.” Like Beer, Scheurich agrees that researchers do not simply present their respondents’ views. Instead, they are involved in a process of carefully and systematically *creating* ordered packages of meaning from a swirl of indeterminacy. This often, and inevitably, puts the researcher in a disquieting position. As Limerick et al. (1996, p. 450) conclude, “... the interview is a gift received by the researcher ... participating in the processes of the production of knowledge inevitably means being embroiled in some uncomfortable contradictions.”

In summary, and as is the case with other methods, the interview presents the qualitative researcher/interviewer with a number of challenges. He or she must grapple with many complex and competing roles: as researcher-self, as participant in a dialogic relationship, and as writer. He or she also must confront issues concerning relative power relations, reflexivity about subjectivity, reciprocity, process and voice, and the co-construction of Self and Other. For these reasons, I remained conscious throughout the entire interview process of what Scheurich (1997) would call my “interpretive baggage”, the intellectual and personal values, history/ies and beliefs with which I approached the research.

Yet, even taking such complexities into account, the postmodern approach to the interview might also be seen as offering researchers opportunity to celebrate their active and reflexive participation in the process, rather than obliging them to attempt to diminish the impact of such ‘contamination’. Interviewer effects are inevitably at the heart of the interview process. But whether this positioning is seen as a vice or limitation, or as a virtue and something to be both acknowledged and even celebrated as a matter of method, is a matter of epistemological orientation. While it may be the interviewer’s role to resift and reconfigure, to shift the line of questioning, to follow the new story and take the twists and turns and detours, and while he or she may be cast in many roles, the interview process itself is still seen as providing a valid site for the investigation of meaning and for the multiple-self generation of knowledge (Collins, 1998). Conceptualised in this manner, the interview

relationship becomes a place for genuine dialogue and learning on both parts, offering an opportunity to gain self-insight and to make a real contribution to understanding. According to several participants in this study, the chance to talk in such a way about aspects of their professional lives that matter dearly to them comes all too rarely.

Positioning myself within the study

Bentz and Shapiro (1998) highlight the researcher's own role as a self-observer and as a participant-observer in phenomenological research. The inquirer's own consciousness is seen as a primary tool, because he or she becomes the "instrument of articulation" (p. 101). It is through the researcher's lenses and subjectivities that an understanding of the phenomenon is constituted; and so the researcher is expected to adopt both insider and outsider roles. Peshkin (1988), holding that subjectivity operates during the entire research process, advocates the need to examine one's own subjectivities to foreground potential vulnerabilities and promote constant self-monitoring.

When I began this study, I brought to it nine years of insider knowledge and experience as a teacher educator, at least as teacher education is practised within my own institutional/national context. I also identified closely with many of my participants because of a prior professional relationship with most of them. As a researcher-teacher education practitioner, I shared a common background and many experiences with the participants in the study. As a white, female, middle-class, New Zealand-born, ex-secondary teacher, I, like many of the participants, entered teacher education from a succession of middle management roles as a head of department and dean, having taught adolescents for 19 years. As an experienced, mature practitioner, with a strong national profile in the same curriculum teaching area, I knew most of the participants in the study because we worked in a similar and relatively small field. I also brought prior knowledge of the wider socio-political context for teacher education in New Zealand and some understanding of the locations in which many participants practised, along with an empathetic, first-hand insight into their many roles and experiences.

Both Bentz and Shapiro (1998) and Kezar (2000) highlight the value of being experientially grounded or immersed in the phenomenon being studied. They, like Glesne and Peshkin (1992, p. 104), argue that "subjectivity is something to capitalise on rather than to exorcise" with its potential to add power, value and richness. "Subjectivity," they continue, "can be seen as virtuous, for it is the basis of researchers making a distinctive contribution,

one that results from the unique configuration of their personal qualities joined to the data they have collected” (p. 104).

Nonetheless, my insider status has had to be carefully managed through frequent participant checking, co-coding and other reflexive techniques that, to use the phenomenological term, encourage the ‘bracketing’ of my own assumptions on the topic. I have had to look carefully at my own motives for choosing this particular topic for investigation. In his discussion of collaborative research with teachers, Elliot (1994) suggests that the stock emancipatory motivations (e.g., giving a voice to teachers) that researchers may present as justifications for the participatory action research they undertake could disguise other motives. He suggests, for example, that such motivations may serve to reinforce a “need for academics to construct research identities they could live with. It ... [is] a road to salvation, to romance, to community ... mediat[ing] through their research skills the ‘voices’ of teachers’ function ... the researcher casts him or herself as the mouthpiece of an oppressed profession” (p.135). Other commentators go further, arguing that it is possible to identify researchers acting as ‘resistance heroes’ against the political system (Convery, 1999, p. 143), and that “educational studies which reassert the importance of teachers’ voices are particularly valuable in building a knowledgeable counter culture to stand against some of the cruder simplicities of political and ‘managerial’ views of schooling” (Goodson, 1991, p. 235).

Despite the different context (in that these commentators allude to teachers’ rather than to teacher educators’ voices), the challenge for me has remained the same: the need to deconstruct my own subjectivities, motives and moral purposes behind the choice of the topic. Whether my motivation has indeed been to give voice to a group on whom we have little formal research, yet whose work frequently attracts pejorative anecdotal judgements in the media and, it could be argued, in the research literature, or whether it has been to advocate for a group that seems increasingly disenfranchised and to champion a cause and thus act as a ‘resistance hero’ against a political system working to totally transform the nature and status of teacher educators’ work, is an issue with which I have had to grapple.

The development of empathy over time with participants can present another ethical dilemma: “If a researcher has developed a warm rapport with a teacher who is prepared to communicate [a life history], it is difficult, and perhaps morally indefensible, to go ‘public’ with an interpretation that is other than celebratory (Convery, 1999, p. 143, quoting Thomas, 1993, p. 473). This consideration presented me with two problems: first, how to provide interpretations of the data that did not merely reinforce and legitimate social investments in

existing practice; and, second, how to simultaneously acknowledge the marginalised voices I sought to present.

Peshkin (1988) identifies the pitfalls for those in an emic or insider position as being a capacity to “filter, skew, shape, block, transform, construe, and misconstrue what transpires from the outset of a research project to its culmination” (p.17). Throughout my work for this thesis, I have therefore had to remain mindful of the need to ‘bracket’ my own beliefs, values, experiences and preferred theories of teacher education, to try to stand outside and to move beyond any inclination to advocate for the status quo, and to seek disconfirming and alternative interpretations as well as ones that confirm. Recognising the privilege of my insider perspective, I have endeavoured to monitor my position for bias when selecting and interpreting data, and to bring balance and rigour to its presentation. The consequence has been a constant need to critique, deconstruct and explore alternative readings of the stories and experiences. Inevitably, for me, this process resulted in much cognitive dissonance and generated considerable and ongoing professional learning while I researched and wrote this thesis. Yet, while my insider status has been a factor that has required me to be constantly reflexive, I consider that this same insider status and subjectivity has strengthened many aspects of this study.

Data analysis and synthesis

Within the qualitative paradigm, data analysis is seen as an intuitive and inductive process in which interpretation, analysis and synthesis are typically viewed as happening simultaneously with data collection. This study involved taking a grounded, inductive approach to data analysis, as conceptualised by Charmaz (2000), and drawing on, but adapting more flexibly, the work of Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Strauss and Corbin (1998). Grounded theory was originally developed as a way of legitimating qualitative studies as rigorous, and countering the then dominant view that quantitative studies based on hypothesis-testing modes of analysis provided the only warranted form of systematic social inquiry (Charmaz, 2000). It has since come to be used as a term to describe a general methodology for generating theory from and out of data that are systematically organised and analysed (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Grounded theory methods specify analytic strategies rather than data collection methods. They rely on the use of systematic, inductive guidelines for collecting and analysing data in order to develop analytical interpretations throughout the research process so as to focus further data collection or to refine developing theoretical frameworks (Charmaz, 2000). They use different types of coding processes, which Strauss and Corbin call “open” or “initial

coding”, and “axial” or “dimensionalizing coding”. These methods are intended to make emerging theories more dense, ‘complex’ or ‘precise’, and ‘selective’. Analytical memo writing is another strategy used in the process (Charmaz, 2000).

From a critical perspective, grounded theory in its prescriptive original form is sometimes critiqued for its apparent positivist assumption of an objective external reality (Guba & Lincoln, 1994), its tendency to fracture the data through the use of excessive coding and categorising, and its potential failure to do justice to the holistic richness of individual’s stories. However, even its critics (e.g., Goldthorpe, 2000) usually acknowledge the value of its basic emphasis on an inductive (as opposed to science’s predominantly deductive) approach to qualitative data, and the virtue of synthesising themes and theories from data rather than imposing them upon it a priori.

Charmaz (2000), for example, offers a more accessible and less rigid form of grounded theory, which she calls ‘constructivist grounded theory’. As an epistemology, constructivism is based on a number of tenets: a relativist assumption of multiple social realities; a recognition that the production of knowledge is the result of joint ‘construction’ within a social environment and mediated through language rather than through the discovery of pre-existing ‘facts’; an acknowledgement that such knowledge is culturally bounded and historically specific; and a claim that, while our understandings of the world may only be partial and problematic, there is still a public value in researchers representing their interpretive understanding of how people construct meaning and what sense they make of their world (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Schwandt, 1994).

In this regard, Charmaz’s (2000) constructivist approach to grounded theory directs qualitative research away from positivism and, in fact, offers a set of more flexible strategies for interpreting data. This approach involves being less objectifying; it is more aware of and focused on interactional and relational factors between respondent, researcher and data. The researcher listens to respondents’ stories with rigorous openness to feeling and experience, promoting the ongoing seeking of meaning from both sides. This approach fosters the researcher’s ongoing reviewing of the data afresh, again and again, as the former develops new ideas. While coding and categorising processes sharpen the researcher’s ability to ask questions about the data, adoption of this approach generally leads to different kinds of questions being asked of the data at different times. Constructivist grounded theorists recognise that researchers re-create the data through ongoing, iterative interaction with what is being viewed. They are sensitive to the possibility of multiple realities and conscious that their interpretations are only one version among multiple possible interpretations. They

“recognise that the categories, concepts, and theoretical level of an analysis emerge from the researcher’s interactions within the field and questions about the data ... [and thus] may remain at a more intuitive, impressionistic level than in an objectivist approach” (Charmaz, p. 526). When writing up a research text, moreover, they may part company from traditional reporting means, arguing for a less scientific format in favour of one that is more in keeping with the postmodernist turn - one that draws on other artistic and linguistic forms, such as narrative, to evoke experiential feeling and immediacy.

Most interpretivist social researchers, whether engaged in ethnographic, narrative, symbolic interactionist, or case study research, take a similarly inductive approach to qualitative data analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994). For all these researchers, analysis goes hand in hand with data collecting and involves some form of ‘coding’ to define and categorise data, follow up leads and hunches, sort and sift through texts to identify themes, patterns and relationships, and then to resort and resift over time both to affirm and to disconfirm emerging ideas. For all, analysis involves constantly comparing and checking against new and existing ideas, classifying and elaborating on a small set of generalisations that relate to and are supported by the data and, eventually, creating and constructing concepts and theories from the data. In this sense, all interpretivist/inductive analytical techniques draw on the key grounded theory principle that themes and theories emerge from the data, rather than being framed as *a priori* hypotheses against which the data are tested. The process is one of inductive reasoning, thinking and theorising, where insight and intuition combine with an intimate familiarity with the data (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998).

Framing the Parameters and Dimensions of a Professional Identity

My decision to frame the parameters and dimensions of a professional identity through use of a grounded theory approach involved three main stages. First, wide reading in the literatures around identity and professional identity shaped my thinking and enabled me to come up with some conceptual definitions. Second, I determined the scope or parameters of what need to be discussed with participants in interviews in order to elicit or ‘get at’ an understanding of professional identity. Over the years of interviewing, these parameters evolved and reshaped as I responded to the matters that emerged in interviews, emails and informal conversations. Using constant comparison, I compared data from the same individuals at different points in time, and different people’s experiences and responses to similar events. Third, within these parameters I analysed and synthesised what the participants said that might be common or

important and that might ‘stand as’ the key characteristics of professional identity as they applied to that group. This approach led to my synthesising these dimensions into a descriptive theory or conceptual model of teacher educators’ professional identity (described in the final chapter).

A study of phenomena that are themselves more conceptual or perceptual (derived from listening to what people say about their lives) than behavioural or interactional (derived from observing what people do in their lives) presented three central problems to me as a researcher: what professional identity is, in general conceptual terms; what to talk about in interviews in order to ‘get at’ it; and what it looked like for the particular group of teacher educators I studied. The epistemological issue centred around how to ensure that I captured or accessed professional identity - all necessary aspects of it - in interviews. The ontological (representational) challenge was to evoke what ‘its’ particular characteristics might be for the cases chosen. The first of these - identifying what needed to be covered to evoke or elicit the participants’ sense of professional identity - was the focus of the analysis of the pilot interviews. This analysis gave rise to the five basic data chapter headings as the key lenses through which the teacher educators described aspects of their professional identity. The second - categorising the particular characteristics of the participants’ individual and collective professional identity as they articulated it - was the focus of all subsequent interview analysis and theme identification.

Developing a chapter framework

In this study, the analysis process began with my first three pilot interviews. Here, I used what a grounded theorist would call open and axial coding processes. I glued interview transcripts onto A3 sheets of paper. Often listening to the audio recordings while simultaneously reviewing the scripts, I began open coding, highlighting comments that caught my attention as being of particular relevance to how pre-service teacher educators conceptualised and experienced their jobs. I then reorganised these comments into thematic categories and patterns. I also wrote analytical notes, and jotted down impressions, questions and emerging themes on the transcripts themselves.

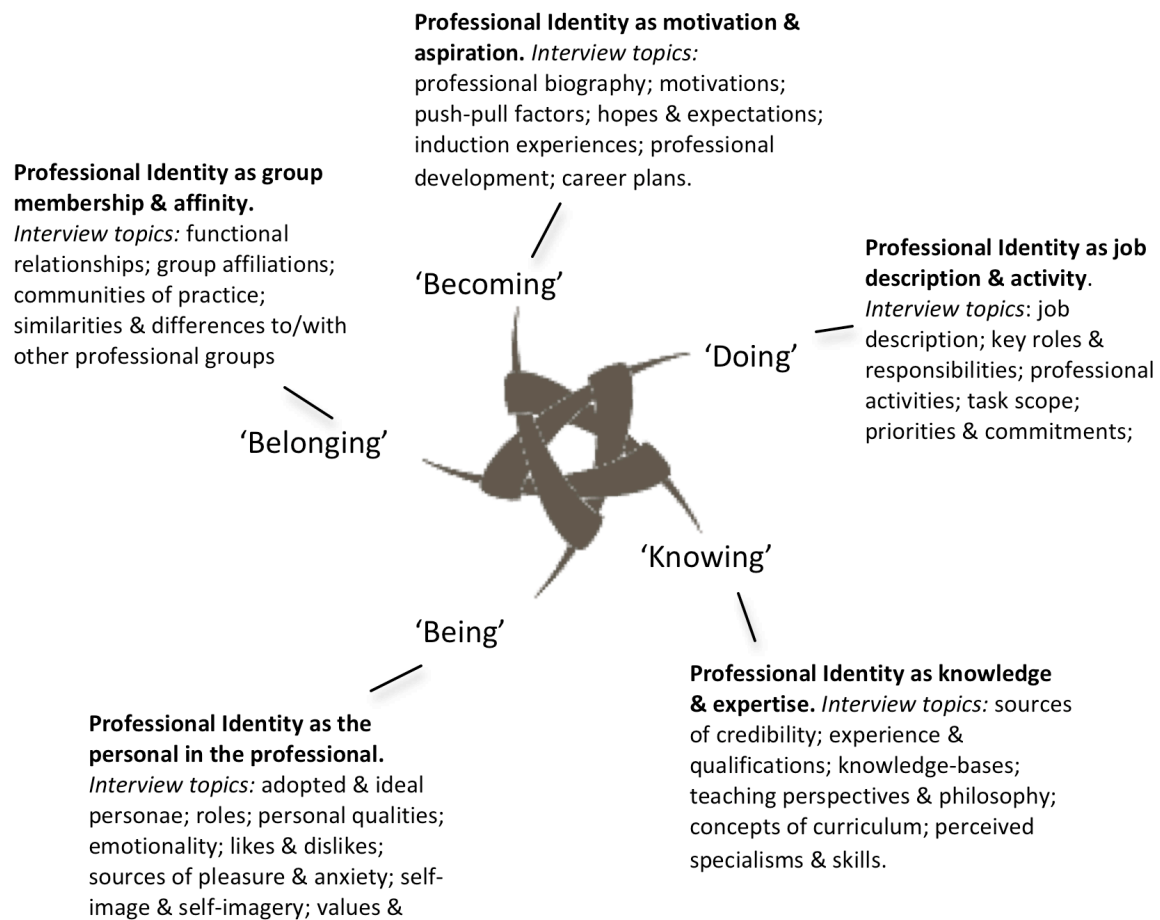
During the early stages of coding data from the pilot and first round of interviews, it became obvious to me that my data were likely to become very wide-ranging. I eventually realised that organising and presenting the material under a few broad thematic headings as a starting point would be the most useful way of doing justice to the breadth of what was emerging and the aspects of professional identity that the teacher educators were discussing.

From the pilot and first year of interviews emerged some key elements or aspects of the participants' professional lives. These were what the participants talked about most, and most deeply, and which I considered might be useful as a practical framework for analysing their professional identities. In time, these elements or parameters of the participants' professional identities eventually became the main chapter headings for the thesis as a whole - the five 'lenses', if you like, through which they, and I, viewed their 'professional identities'.

- The chapter *On Becoming* thus centres on the participants' intentions and aspirations in regard to becoming teacher educators, their motivations for taking this step, and their initial induction experiences in teacher education.
- The chapter *On Doing* focuses on the participants' daily experience of the 'work' of teacher education, and the professional roles and tasks involved.
- The chapter *On Knowing* considers the various knowledge bases they felt they had, or needed, as teacher educators, and the pedagogical dispositions and approaches that informed their practice and that they saw as distinctive to teacher education.
- The chapter *On Being* focuses on the affective aspects of how they experienced teacher education, the socio-professional personae they adopted, and their emotional positioning of themselves in relation to those personae.
- The chapter *On Belonging* centres on the particular communities of interest and practice they saw themselves being aligned/not aligned to, and how they saw themselves 'fitting' into the wider professional cultures of which they are a part.
- The final chapter, *Towards a Professional Identity for Teacher Educators* synthesises the dimensions of the participants' professional identity/ies as evoked in the previous chapters, and proposes a conceptual model of the collective professional identity of teacher educators.

Figure 1 is an attempt to present visually the methodological framework used to access the participants' professional identity. It highlights and unpacks the areas that needed to be talked about in interviews in order to draw out the conceptualisations that participants had of themselves as professionals.

Figure 1: Methodological framework for investigating professional identity



Analysing the interview transcripts according to each of these 'lenses' consisted of highlighting sub-themes in a different colour as they occurred or emerged in each interview. I annotated the transcripts, both electronically, using a mixture of bolding and highlighting, and on hard copy, making notes in my journal and other memos. I used an open coding and a constant comparison technique (Glaser, 1992). For each individual interview, I identified gaps or areas for further exploration. The following extract from one of my research journals illustrates my process of making comparisons and cross-checking, of looking at emerging patterns over time and beginning to interpret concepts under the theme (in this instance) of the theory/research/practice divide. I identify areas for further probing, highlight my own reflections on process and include some hunches that might take me forward. I have italicised and reduced the font size for this section to mark it as a different source of data from the interviews.

L reflected on the shifts happening in his attitude to further study from the last time we talked when he was “really reluctant and fairly despairing at first” and now to “While I can’t say I’m euphoric, I quite like it.” Interesting litotes - he likes the readings because they weren’t “overly academic or overly convoluted” - the inaccessibility of some academic discourse that puts people off? Is this seeming anti-intellectualism part of the culture in which he works or the result of his pride in being an immensely pragmatic, practical person? One of the things he commented on is that the vulnerability created a greater sense of empathy with his students - in their shoes. He also cites the readings as providing a framework or rationale for the stuff he does. He uses the word ‘foundations’, ‘firming up’, and he talked at length about concepts like reflexivity, making links to reflective practice at college. Useful for the Knowing and also the Being with the feelings about the research/practitioner divide. Is this a case of moving from phronesis to episteme? Check the Russell article. Finding relevance - moving from practice towards theory and realising that this new process is in many ways providing a validation of his praxis and own personal theory but also strengthening it and extending his thinking ... Explore more about this next time too and see what further things have emerged for him and how he is feeling and what impact this is having on his conceptualisations in the classroom. I love his openness and honesty about these processes of learning and appreciate that he is so willing to be transparent about things that others might feel a great deal more defensive about. He is always such a generous person to talk with. (Researcher journal, 2005)

Further down the track, I added other ways of sorting and sifting the data. For each sub-theme and individual, I created a series of A2 mind-maps. For each individual, I also created electronic files that captured exemplary quotes, in order to illustrate particular emerging dimensions under each chapter theme and sub-theme. I searched for points of similarity and patterns as well as for points of departure from the expected, refined questions and added new speculations. This process was ongoing and iterative, moving from the general to the particular and back, from the tentative to the more definite. The iterative nature of the ‘selective coding’ phase resulted in my going back on occasions to participants to check and solicit further specific data, even as I was beginning to write the first draft of my data

chapters. This approach became an important way of opening up detailed discussion of areas that might not have emerged in depth in earlier discussions.

During the process, I also continued to read widely so that my tentative theorising and concepts were constantly being located, in both confirming and disconfirming ways, within discussions of the wider politics of teacher education.

Dealing with Validity: Trustworthiness and Crystallisation

Given that the aim of qualitative research is to present a rich, in-depth understanding of social phenomena rather than context-free predictive or universal truths about them, and given the fact that any interpretation of social reality is at best only partial and one among many other possible interpretations, some interpretivist and critical epistemologists have rejected the terms ‘reliability’ and ‘validity’ as positivist phrasing, inappropriate as measures of rigour in qualitative inquiry. At the same time, however, they acknowledge the need for some kind of checks or measures to legitimate any claims to knowledge in such inquiry. As a result, qualitative researchers have espoused revised theories of ‘validity’ and have often generated or adopted what they consider to be more appropriate terminology for it. For example, Guba and Lincoln (1982) replace both reliability and validity with the concept of “trustworthiness”, itself comprising four sub-tests of methodological rigour, namely, credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Others have proposed ‘worthiness’, ‘relevance’, ‘plausibility’, ‘confirmability’, or ‘representativeness’ (see, for example, Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Hammersley, 1992; Mishler, 1990; Wolcott, 1990). Guba and Lincoln (2005) describe some more current conversations around validity, focusing on notions of validity as authenticity of various kinds, validity as resistance and post-structural transgressions, the purpose of which is to deliberately disrupt in order to create new relationships, and validity as an ethical relationship.

Whatever the alternative terms advocated, validity, in qualitative terms, is thus most often construed as involving a close and ongoing interrogation of data to ensure it is well-grounded and supportable; an ongoing questioning of the researcher’s perspectives and interpretations of events; a sound and well-justified argument; meaningfulness and importance of findings; and concepts of quality in research ‘craftsmanship’ (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Kvale, 1996).

Whatever the terms used, there seems to be some emerging consensus around the specific methodological strategies that researchers might adopt in order to meet such tests for

demonstrating qualitative rigor. For Guba and Lincoln (2000), for example, these include the audit trail, member checks when coding, co-categorising with other researchers, confirming results with participants, peer debriefing, and so forth (Guba & Lincoln, 1982). As they also note, “the way in which we know is most assuredly tied up with both *what* we know and our *relationships with our research participants* ” (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 209, italics in original). Marshall & Rossman (2006) outline similar criteria for ensuring credibility and trustworthiness in a qualitative study. Using these criteria, I outline the processes used in this study to ensure validity or trustworthiness as follows.

The right setting and informants

A careful choice of participants guided the study. I aimed to include teacher educators representing a range of sites in which teacher education is practised, and a range of ‘career’ paths that had been followed by the teacher educators at those sites. The group was really only homogeneous in that all were involved in secondary pre-service teacher education and had shared, at some point in their careers, a similar curriculum area specialism (English teaching at secondary level and English education at tertiary).

Informant review: accurate reflection of situation, and informant perceptions

One way I addressed this was to return often to the data to check for fresh perspectives. I kept an audit trail of my researcher activities. Initially, I sent out transcripts of recorded interviews for member checking, but after the first one most participants did not request them. Thereafter, member checking was built into the fabric of subsequent interviews themselves. Another method I used was peer checking. I shared my writing with one participant in the study and with two teacher educators who were not part of the study. The latter were invited to co-code some of the transcripts and to report the themes that emerged most forcefully for them. I also invited someone who was not a teacher educator to do the same in order to obtain a different perspective on emerging themes.

Multiple approaches leading to similar results

In the study, the deeply recursive, iterative nature of the interviewing process was the key way in which I addressed this area of concern. While some researchers recommend multiple methods to study a phenomenon (e.g., Cresswell, 1998), and as a means of providing a broader perspective on issues, others argue that it is the quality and appropriateness, not the number, of methods that ensures such triangulatory rigour. In my own case, I built in this

multiplicity of opportunity for cross-case comparison less through using multiple methods than through selecting multiple cases, through conducting multiple interviews across time, and through ensuring that cases were chosen from multiple contexts.

Peer review: multiple researchers yielding similar interpretations

Although I was the single researcher involved in this study, on several occasions I asked a mentor to co-code some interviews, with the aim of challenging my thinking. As noted, I used some respondent checking to check areas of transcripts for accuracy, and I shared my draft writing with others who were familiar with the context, inviting them to offer alternative interpretations. Those with whom I shared my writing included both participants in the study and fellow teacher educators no longer working in the same roles and/or who were now outside the employing institutions. I requested feedback on the seeming authenticity of description and verisimilitude to their own experiences - on whether the narratives and interpretation 'rang true'. I also sought disconfirmations and surprises and other possible interpretations.

Reciprocity and reflexivity

Self-reflexivity brings to consciousness some of the complex political/ideological agendas hidden in our writing. (Richardson, 2000a, p. 254)

Marshall and Rossman (2006, p. 5) require that "as researchers we (a) must examine how we represent the participants - the Other - in our work; (b) should scrutinize the "complex interplay of our personal biography, power and status, interactions with participants and [the] written word" (Rossman & Rallis, 2003, p. 93); and (c) must be vigilant about the dynamics of ethics and politics in our work." However, interpretive researchers ultimately are responsible for their own interpretations. The measure of rigour in such research lies less in how much they adopt others' alternative views or critiques than in the extent of honesty and open mindedness exhibited in seeking and reflecting on them.

Issues of reflexivity and reciprocity are thus high on the agendas of qualitative researchers generally, and in phenomenological studies in particular (Hycner, 1985). Guba and Lincoln (2005) argue that reflexivity is the process of reflecting critically on the self as researcher, forcing us to come to terms not only with our research problem but also with the multiple identities or selves brought forth during the experience of researching. This reflexivity or critical reflection on the self as researcher is an important way in which qualitative researchers attempt to enhance the internal validity of their research projects.

Among other things, this practice means that the researcher must acknowledge the ways in which his or her own world view, beliefs, values and prior experience may have the power to influence both the researcher environment and the interpretations made and must act accordingly look for signs of bias and interrogate assumptions. Many post-modern writers construe this approach as both problematic and positive: the interview is a site where meaning is mutually constructed, but the research text is inevitably mitigated through the lens of the researcher. The interview and the texts that result are also sites for, and a process of, discovery - of the subject and of one's self (Richardson, 1994, 1997, 2000b). However, once the researcher acknowledges this situation, he or she can focus on other considerations (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003).

Oakley (1981) talks of reciprocity as the give-and-take between researcher and participant. As an insider, I inevitably brought considerable prior knowledge to the phenomenon being studied, and in the early stages, in particular, I worried that being too close carried risks. The interview process accentuated the blurring boundaries between my roles as researcher, colleague and, in many cases, friend. How was I to manage the situation when I was distinctly unclear about my voice and place in the interview, so that it did not become just about me? How much probing should I do? How was I to interpret the gaps and silences and the body language as well as the words? How was I to capture this, if at all? What unsurfaced assumptions did I bring to the interview? Or should I settle for the reassurance of Glesne and Peshkin's (1992, p. 76) view that "effective interviewing should be viewed the way good teaching is: you look for improvement over time, for continuing growth, rather than mastery or perfection."

In the early interviews, I thus listened very carefully for my role and deliberately elicited feedback from my participants on their perceptions of these early interviews. The following is an excerpt from a pilot interview.

Lewis: Has that covered most of the questions or is there anything else?
[Rustling sound.] I thought the questions were nice and open, the downside to that as an interviewee is that then the pressure goes back on you to articulate quite complex things. You feel pressured to answer things, you don't want to let the interviewer down, you want to be able to answer all the questions and you want to be able to say exactly what you mean, to give the interviewer something to respond to. The thing I think I found most difficult was that in the process there is some expectations where I might refer to certain incidents or certain

things, and it is sometimes hard to reach for those, but having said that ... (Interview, 2003)

Van Manen refers to the author's reflexivity or concern over his or her place in the telling of the story of the interview as the 'confessional tale'. Based on the transcript excerpt above, the account that follows illustrates some of the challenges to my thinking during the early stages of the data-gathering process. I had been most anxious about 'leading the witness' (to use a legal metaphor), which seemed to me to hold possibilities of forcing the data in some way. Lewis's problematising of the interview process itself highlighted several ongoing dilemmas for me as interviewer: how could I best help my participants 'feel ready', without feeling they needed to prepare or that they were constrained in any way by interviewer expectations? This concern raised thorny issues of power and positioning as well as performativity. Perhaps not wanting "to let the interviewer down" was, in this instance, borne of some loyalty to our prior relationship and genuine commitment on his part to our joint venture. While the ethicality of my relationship with each individual was a given, I was, however, forced to scrutinise my own expectations of these interviews. The transcript excerpt also raised issues around what Scheurich (1997, p. 62) refers to as "the persistent slipperiness, instability and ambiguity of language within the interview process, from person to person, from situation to situation, from time to time", as well as the elusiveness and incompleteness of memory. Furthermore, it challenged notions of ever really being able to express exactly what is meant and raised the equally thorny issue of the place of my own 'voice' as a researcher/ author/narrator and the 'voices' of the individuals informing my study.

The excerpt below, drawn from the same 2003 interview, gave rise to further questions, for example, about preparation and the role of emotionality in interviews.

I: Would it be easier ... if you had some questions in advance or something to give you a sense of scope?

Lewis: No, I think overall, there is a positive thing, I think, overall, in that in giving me time to talk and really talk, and talk and ramble on, eventually you will get to another thing ... I think I like it because it allowed me to think out loud and that is a good thing. The second thing is, and this is kind of a question for you in that the interview, I found myself thinking, as the interview was going on and you were starting to engage me when you were talking about what I know and love, I felt myself getting quite emotional about that, you know. On

one hand, I think that that could be really valuable, but it could also take you off the subject. I mean, I found myself getting quite passionate about it, which is nice on my behalf, but I suppose those are some things for you to deal with.

Lewis's comments highlighted the conundrum about advance preparation for the interview. While Lewis answered my question briefly, a number of seemingly more important issues surfaced for him, including the fact that the interview seemed to be offering him an opportunity to do what we English teachers rate highly - to 'talk to learn', to think aloud, to formulate and construct his story as he spoke, at length. While words like "ramble" seemed to indicate an awareness that he might tend to get "carried away", and while "passionate" signalled an important emotional dimension to his work, he saw all of this as a problem for me as researcher to resolve. Yet he also acknowledged our reciprocity and shared investment in the interview. His comments about engagement highlighted the value for him of reciprocity; the notion seemed to open the floodgates, allowing him to address what mattered to him, not just to my researcher-self, with my set of agendas. As Douglas (1985, p, 368) notes, "... forgetting the rules in creative interviewing allows research subjects to express themselves more freely, and thus to have a greater voice in the research process and in the research report." I learned, then, to be more flexible and to trust myself to fully focus on what participants were saying, especially once I realised that my participants looked forward to further professional conversations.

On another level, Lewis's slight tentativeness above is in sharp contrast to the comments he made several interviews, and years, down the track. I include here my impressions after a later interview, which took place during some snatched time at a conference we were both attending.

Brilliant to talk with L. again. This time he was the one really keen to talk, I felt he expected it and was actually waiting for the moment - "Don't you want to interview me?" It felt as if it was actually quite important to him too; really affirming for me too to think that our times might be 'gifts' for him too?? I could feel his clarity and new purpose in the way he spoke as well as what he said. How he was feeling about his role several months into the merger and his new role. A new-found confidence? I can't imagine why not since he's in a new leadership role. He talked heaps about identity - his different subjectivities - teacher, pragmatist and academic, the tensions between them - really struck me that he was thinking of his identity as an academic for the first time??? and

'positioning himself for the next 10 years' were his words - thinking ahead about his positioning in the new institution. Seems surer he will stay now. And said again that these sessions were really the only time he had the chance to speak in such depth about his professional self. (Researcher journal, July 2007)

The preceding discussion, drawn from only one individual transcript and my researcher notes relevant to that interview, serves to illustrate some of the preoccupations that I as a researcher/participant grappled with throughout the study. As a result of this discussion with Lewis, I decided to offer participants questions in advance, but only when we sought to discuss more complex aspects of practice such as their views on knowledge and pedagogy. My hope was that we would get beyond espoused theories into anecdotes and illustrations of practice. Otherwise, I merely highlighted the general area I wished to discuss with them. In visiting more complex topics, I quickly became aware of the importance of the iterative process in conducting the interviews. Often, matters mentioned in one interview recurred on a subsequent occasion without prompting, and frequently expressed in similar words.

Another insight for me as researcher, especially when listening to the audio-files, was the frequent laughter, which I interpreted as markers of mutual engrossment and empathy, and the dialogic nature of the interviews. I also came to realise that these occasions were sites of mutual learning and sharing. They were as Kvale (1996) would put it, "*inter views*". I found myself taking part in a professional conversation, sometimes just as expressions of empathy but often at the level of mutual sharing and inquiry or recounting a personal experience of my own. Here, as Bishop (1996) notes, the reciprocal nature of the work holds sway over other agendas, and relationships themselves can occupy centre stage. For many participants, the opportunity to discuss their professional practice with a keenly interested 'other', outside their immediate institutional circle, was both professionally rewarding and provided a welcome chance to reflect aloud. It was both self-revelatory and self-constructing - an occasion for mutual professional learning, even. The following excerpts from Lewis's interviews over time exemplify the nature of this opportunity.

I just know that ever since I've been in teacher education, an opportunity like this to actually articulate, to talk about what I'm doing, actually it's quite scary, and I never thought I'd be doing it, I never thought anyone would be interested or ask. (Interview, 2004)

I would have to say that the couple of articles that you deluged me with, by the post, I felt were useful in terms of, well this one here - I had to write down the

titles as they are so long - conceptual orientations in teacher education. I mean, there's a lot in there which really made me think about my own practice. (Interview, 2005)

This discussion has probably clarified in my mind [that] I probably have to decide whether I'm going to be a teacher educator in a general sense, or have I moved away from the English teaching thing? (Interview, 2006)

While I initially began with a research question that covered an enormous number of areas that I was keen to explore, I quickly discovered that depth in conversation produces richer data than breadth, so over time I focused on asking fewer questions, used more probes and created spaces for participants to pursue what was of moment to them. I placed greater trust in my own active listening skills, informed by what I perceived as areas we had not pursued in earlier interviews or had glossed over. I also became increasingly aware of the influence on my own thinking that insights into the less familiar was having, the cognitive dissonances that I was feeling, and the different 'selves' that were being called on or created for use during the interviews. None of them seemed to be the dispassionate, objective researcher.

After reading Collins, I wondered how many selves were being constructed in this interview? Researcher; colleague and fellow teacher educator; friend; confidante; sounding board; story-teller or narrator; audience member.
(Researcher journal, July 2005)

Issues of Representation

... no matter how we stage the text, we - the authors - are doing the staging. As we speak about the people we study, we also speak for them. As we inscribe their lives, we bestow meaning and promulgate values. (Richardson, 1992, p. 131)

It has become almost commonplace amongst qualitative researchers to acknowledge that "we need to recognise ambiguity, to be open to the dilemmas we face and the choices we make, and to think through the implications of these choices for the knowledge we produce." (Ribbens & Edwards, 1998, p. 205)

Putting these values into operation, however, as a central part of our research design and conduct remains easier said than done. (Vincent & Warren, 2001, p. 52)

A key challenge for qualitative researchers is how to capture the lived experiences of others with authenticity and accuracy, when representing it to still others. To describe a situation without it having been filtered through the lens of the researcher's experiences is "to give a very barren and incomplete picture" (Shuck, cited in White, 2003, p. 6). Nor does it acknowledge that any discussion of the phenomenon is inevitably seen through the researcher's eyes and therefore "cannot be a value free and objective examination" (Shuck, in White, 2003, p. 6). From another perspective, the very uncertainty about what does constitute an adequate depiction of reality means one is liberated from predictable ways of writing up already pre-determined projects (Richardson, 2000a). However, making a decision about how best to represent the voices of the players in this study, including my own, has been no easy task. My researcher/writer intrusion is a given, since it is the researcher/writer who selects, rejects, orders and synthesises, and makes final decisions on what stories to tell and how to present them. Everything is filtered, constructed and reconstructed through my eyes as researcher. My participant's words are selectively braided in, and there is always a story between the lines in any text in which there is a personal investment (Oberg & Artz, 1999). All in all, as MacLure and Stronach (1993) suggest, the appearance of artfulness is a rather artful business.

Throughout, I have needed to interrogate my reasons for selecting or focusing on some things at the expense of others. I have had to wrestle with how I might balance or weight different aspects and how I might create a sense of flow and development and make links between the broad 'thematic' divisions at the macro organisational level. I have had to seek out my own (in)visibility(ies). I wanted to somehow capture a sense of the complexity, depth, fluidity and the profound inter-relatedness among the elements of these teacher educators' professional roles and identities.

There are, inevitably, an infinite number of stories that have *not* been told in this thesis, and I am aware that I could have chosen to approach the analysis and presentation of data in a number of ways. Because I have had so many colours, textures, images to draw on, I have felt compelled to paint a broad canvas, and in a painterly fashion. The brushstrokes of reflexivity are therefore probably more rather than less visible throughout.

In order to do some justice to the rich experiential stories of my participants, I have retained a plurality of voices, characterised by the liberal interspersing of exemplary excerpts from transcripts setting out my own interpretations, but also mixing this at times with other forms of representation. For some researchers, verisimilitude comes from the ability to evoke an experience rather than to recreate it. This has been my goal throughout. Although drawn to other representational methods, such as those suggested by Richardson (1997), ironically before I even read her work, I finally decided on the ‘bricolage’ effect (Denzin & Lincoln, 1995) of also including examples of writing in other genres.

My own writing process predisposed me to working creatively as a means of entering the data, and also as a way of partially capturing my own story. Even though my use of traditional social science discourse automatically implicates me as the interpreter, I have mixed genres and included a selection of creative pieces. These serve a number of purposes. Each introduces key themes in the chapter that follows. I intersperse them between chapters, as ‘interludes’ and as ‘catches’ for reader engagement. Some I use for opening up or capturing some moments of my own individual experience or giving a more personal identity to the players. Some accentuate my own teacher education subjectivity or my own ‘teacher educator I’, thus drawing from Peshkin’s description of his “subjective Is” (Peshkin, 1988, p. 20). Some attempt a tiny ‘slice of life’ (to use the literary term often applied to the shape and focus of short stories). They attempt merely to capture a moment in time. Some attempt to capture a mood or to explore a feeling about a transformational event. In this sense, they may be seen as a nod towards what Richardson (2000a) calls the autoethnographic. My inclusion of these different texts also affirms Richardson’s metaphor of “crystallisation”, a term that she considers is more appropriate than triangulation in respect of providing a way of seeing validity in postmodern times. As she notes:

... the crystal combines symmetry and substance with an infinite variety of shapes, substances, transmutations, multidimensionalities, and angles of approach. Crystals grow, change, alter, but are not amorphous. Crystals are prisms that reflect externalities and refract within themselves, creating different colours, patterns, and arrays, casting of in different directions. What we see depends upon our angle of repose. Not triangulation, crystallisation. (Richardson, 2000b, p. 934)

My hope was that the different texts might also provide some other ways of reflecting experience, some other facets through which to experience data. My hope, too, was that the

descriptions of life experiences might result in what van Manen (1990, p. 27) calls the “phenomenological nod” - a spark of recognition for the reader.

The Writing Process

... As imagination bodies forth

The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen

Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing

A local habitation and a name.

(*A Midsummer Night's Dream*: V.i)

One of the things I had to learn as a writer was to trust the act of writing. To put myself in the position of writing to find out what I was writing ... It's like driving a car at night. You never see further than your headlights, but you can make the whole trip that way. (Doctorow, no date, quoted in Chandler, 1995, p. 75)

Van Manen (1997) argues that the writing process in phenomenological human science is not the final stage of the research process but should rather be perceived as the research itself: “It is both a method of discovery and representation. Writing separates us from what we know and yet it unites us more closely with what we know” (p. 127). Phenomenological writing has been likened to falling forward into the darkness, in that it seeks to communicate the not-yet-known through deep description of what has been lived as whole being in the life-world. Richardson (1997) calls this process of writing the story of how texts are constructed the ‘writing-story’. What follows is one version of mine.

I have been conscious of the act of writing and what it has meant and felt like at every stage of composing this thesis, from illegible jottings and fluorescent highlightings, middle-of-the-night thoughts on post-its or the endless reflections, scrawled on transcriptions, to chapter drafts where shape finally emerged at the end, fragments, poems, plays, songs. I have even written pieces that have contributed to this thesis as part of my writing during the teaching of my pre-service Teaching Writing course - a course which will no longer run in the streamlined new world of cut-backs and revised delivery methods. It has invaded my life and pervaded my conscious and unconscious moments. I have

woken up from dreams where I have been actively engaged in creating sentences that have insinuated their way into my thesis.

Well over a decade ago, I heard Daniel Chandler address a plenary at an Australian Association for the Teaching Of English (AATE) conference in Perth. Doctorow's idea of writing as driving a car at night has remained a touchstone for patience and trust. Similarly, the metaphors Chandler used to describe the differences in writing approaches for those engaged in academic and literary pursuits have stayed with me. Chandler talked of Watercolourists who attempt to produce a complete version at the first attempt, with minimal revision. Paintings done in watercolours are typically characterised by a sense of freshness and lightness of touch. Bricklayers usually have a clear idea of what they want to say and adopt a sequential approach, editing as they go, coming back to an incomplete draft later. Oil-painters rework over time, painting over details; a 'painterly' texture may reveal the marks of the making. Architects consciously plan and design, choose their writing strategies and are less likely than others to see writing as a way of thinking.

This thesis has seen me mixing all four at different times - architect at many points, watercolourist least. The craft of academic writing has engaged me largely in a mixture of oil-painter, revising text to deepen thinking or rework ideas, revising and reworking, filling in and fleshing out, seeing things form and as quickly disappear from view, layering upon layer with the palette knife of thought, and of brick-layer, working on one section till I feel able to move on.

Prevalent in the writing-to-learn movement is the adage: 'How do I know what I think till I see what I write.' Most of all, the process of writing has been an act of thought, an ongoing process of discovery and an integral part of the analytical and interpretive process. It has taken me close to my topic, enabling me to dive in and immerse myself in the pabulum of my texts, just as it has given me distance. It has forced me to sift and sort and order ideas, search for significances, confront far-too-ready assumptions and question my initial interpretations. It has made me grapple with seeing things in new ways. Many times it has seemed an insurmountable struggle; at times a wonderful release. Despite occasional arterial spurts, more often than not the writing has been a slow pulse, at times even suspended animation, when I have struggled with momentum in the midst of a busy professional life. I have written myself into the

thesis and in the process I have (re)created my/other personal/professional selves as much as I have written about the professional identities of my colleagues.

We shall not cease from exploration

And the end of all our exploring

Will be to arrive where we started

And know the place for the first time.

(T.S. Eliot, from 'Little Gidding', Four Quartets, 1942)

INTERLUDE: ON BECOMING A TEACHER EDUCATOR

A Play in One Scene

Introducing The Players

DAN

Tall, bearded and smiling, Dan has an imposing physical presence that is both reassuring and avuncular. A thinker, highly intelligent, humane, he charms with his quiet way and rich full baritone. The kind of voice that kids love listening to. Passionate about books, his literary knowledge is a rich pool that he is keen to swim in with other readers. If you want to know what's worth reading, or anything about the reading process itself, then ask Dan. What a great model for boys, I think. The esteem he is held in is obvious from the greetings, jocular comments and half conversations that punctuate our journey down the narrow corridors to the staff common-room.

Before entering teaching, Dan enrolled in a doctorate in English but discovered he loved teaching tutorials so much he decided secondary teaching was for him. He spent 13 years teaching English in secondary schools, eight of them at a small country high school and the rest as PR2 and then head of department (HOD) at a large suburban high school.

Dan has been involved in teacher education for over 20 years. Feeling the need for a new challenge, and not wanting to be a deputy principal, he took up a secondment to the primary programme of the local college of education, initially teaching content studies to school-leavers who wanted to be primary teachers. The secondment turned into a permanent job in the secondary division.

Until his recent resignation, he worked as a lecturer in pre-service, with some years of in-service work as an adviser, and in a number of national developments in curriculum and assessment. His work as a teacher educator spanned sectors, and he tutored for many years at the local university in English literature, his major passion.

SARAH

Running between teaching (face-to-face and online) and the aerobics classes she teaches for fun in her lunch-times, Sarah's blonde, lithe appearance reinforces her 'woman always on the go' image - a woman used to juggling a raft of different demands at once, while still remaining buoyant, upbeat, full of enthusiasm.

Though her crammed office is not large, she has managed to fit in a couple of comfortable chairs for conversation. An inviting space for talking. People are obviously welcome here. Between the chairs is a low coffee table with some personal pieces of pottery and late summer flowers. On the walls, framed photos of important family moments - children at various stages of maturity - and a framed poem from a grateful student. Hundreds of neatly labelled file boxes identify the breadth of her work.

Sarah's entry into teacher education was gradual and sporadic. Early in her career, she combined child-rearing with teacher-aiding at a primary school, followed by stints teaching part-time primary courses at a teachers' college, part-time secondary teaching, advisory work in drama, and 16 years as HOD at a boys' catholic secondary school.

Even on her entry into full-time teacher education, Sarah kept her feet dancing between camps. She stayed classroom teaching while simultaneously teaching at the local college of education, studying for higher qualifications, and working as research assistant to senior academics. Her Master's was not quite complete when she was appointed to a full-time position in pre-service teacher education. She completed a doctoral study in record time, while teaching full time, and has just been promoted to the position of Director of Secondary Teacher Education, her next challenge.

BELLA

Vibrant, dramatic, with the energy, resilience and thirst for new learning of someone decades younger, Bella is an auditory presence - a pair of heels clacking along the 1970's lino corridor, arms piled up with teaching resources, or often rushing off to her next meeting. She is also a visual and tactile presence. Textured clothing, in opulent shades, fitting or layered, purples, golds and reds, are, matched with big bold earrings, dangling, extravagant shoes or boots, pointed and elegant. Noisy. Eccentric. Her office is piled high and spilling over, overflowing with bougainvillea and jasmine, vivid kaleidoscopes of colour, a cat-sized lion puppet from the Children's Bookshop, abstract art by a grateful ex-student, paper towers, teetering, coffee table and academic books, a trolley full of resources. Anachronistically Dickensian.

Highly articulate, warm and generous-spirited, Bella leaves you with the impression that you have been in the presence of someone richly educated and cultured, both empathetic and strongly individualistic, with many new and many more aesthetic mountains to climb.

Bella entered pre-service teacher education after a long career in secondary teaching and three years of in-service work as an adviser in English and drama. She began teaching in the 1960s (social studies, English and French), eventually moving to a newly opened school in the Bay of Plenty. After four years away from the classroom, and on the same day her daughter started primary school, she resumed teaching, at a large co-educational high school. These were the positive, creative, 'fun' times, in which she was heavily involved in putting on "proper productions, huge ones with hundreds of kids running around."

She became HOD English/drama and created a reputation as a drama critic, as co-director of annual Shakespeare productions for the wider community, and (recently) as artistic director of a local theatre. Bella's leadership in the development of the Arts curriculum, NCEA standards for drama, and as a resource writer for the drama curriculum and national moderator for drama highlight her immense contributions.

ANNA

You know when Anna is in her office. She has a bold, insistent presence, – a warm and forceful laugh, - at times spilling over into a wonderful cackle. Sometimes when she is there, her door is closed – but you can still hear the energy vibrate amongst the physical messiness. Sometimes she is not there and the door is closed, it's probably because she is out of town, at a conference or one of many national meetings, possibly perhaps teaching or doing fieldwork for a research contract. If the door is open wide and she is present, chances are she will be oblivious to anything but her own intense activity. You can hear her clattering away on her one of her two keyboards on a large untidy desk littered with empty smoked-glass coffee cups. Or you can hear her across the corridor talking fast and forcefully on the phone about a book or research contracts, to students, or colleagues, or her publisher.

She is a restless spirit: now incisive, hard-edged, intellectual, a tad cynical; now insightful, mellow and expansive, talking of universal philosophical issues beyond the here and now. Fired with a need to be always moving forwards and ahead in her career, she can bridge and move between different roles effortlessly, flit from one lateral idea to another with butterfly intensity, plumb an idea to its depths, get to the heart of things or offer another way of seeing the world.

Anna began teaching primary school after completing a Master's degree, unusual in a traditionally un-degreed profession. She then moved into secondary teaching, completed a diploma in second language teaching, and became involved in community teaching. Teaching at a local polytechnic took her into tertiary education for several years before another career change came about with her decision to study overseas for her doctorate. During her doctoral research, Anna taught some university semester courses, which led to further teaching of generic pedagogy courses, and casual work marking student scripts. On completing her doctorate, she moved back to New Zealand into a job teaching and coordinating a new education degree course in arts and drama. Since the college/university merger, she has been promoted to associate professor.

ALI

After seven years in teacher education, Ali's office is beginning to look like a tidier version of the office of the long-time resident - filled to overflowing. The shelves are full of books and labelled file boxes, filing cabinets and teaching resources. There are piles on the floor, which ebb and flow depending on whether Ali has had the time to get into filing mode. When you enter, she is marking or answering emails, or getting ready for her next two-hour slot of teaching, or possibly eating her lunch at the same time. Or a student may be coming to see her, and you can hear the peals of laughter or serious chats going on as she talks through an assignment.

Stylishly cut, white hair frames a warm, humorous expression. A memorable, droll presence. A staunch and loyal supporter of students and colleagues alike, her role excites her greatly. There is always something to draw your attention. A book you've never come across from the library. A large collage of smiling faces enjoying various social and school events (a parting gift from her last department) hangs next to the Tongan tapa cloth, blue-tacked to the side of one of the two filing cabinets. As she talks of classes or events, she bubbles about the thinking and learning that has been going on. Having begun with a paper in research methods, she is stimulated by her ongoing learning and has just completed her Master's thesis. Surrounded by the coloured baskets that contain her teaching materials for the next class, she talks about what she is thinking of doing next.

Ali brought to teacher education over 25 years of secondary teaching, becoming a teacher librarian after doing a diploma in teacher librarianship, and then HOD of English. Ali's interest in teacher education grew from her extensive in-school experience as a highly successful associate teacher, and from mentoring many young teachers in her department. She had worked as a facilitator of the three years of NCEA implementation, running workshops for teachers in media and English, and in retraining programmes for teachers rejoining the career. These experiences, and a gentle nudge, encouraged her to make the shift.

RACHEL

Rachel's university office, like that of her colleagues, is far too small to contain what is needed for her to juggle many jobs - as sometime practicum placement and programme coordinator, as teacher, lecturer, library manager, researcher. The walls are lined with academic and professional titles, both generic and curriculum specific. Books, their spines with intriguing and familiar titles, some upright and others lying across, are stuffed into the spaces between shelves. Personal copies of key professional journals sit upright in magazine files. Hardly any floor space, because as you enter you have to avoid a large metal trolley, piled high and unruly with books for adolescent readers. Dozens of them. A voracious reader, lifelong autodidact, humane and intelligent problem-solver, she is indefatigable.

It is easy to understand the significance of the affectionate drawing pinned to the wall - a drawing of Rachel perched on her trolley of books, smiling, her smooth dark bob flying, speeding along the corridor to her next appointment. "Weeeeeeee!" says the speech bubble on this hand-made end-of-the-year card from an appreciative class of curriculum majors.

Her desk appears similarly unruly, but it would be most unwise to take the untidiness as a sign of inefficiency. Fans of academic articles vie for attention along with student admission folders, assignments to mark, memos of urgent 'to do's'. But she knows where everything is, and, back turned, she listens carefully and thoughtfully to the voice on the other end of the phone, reaches for the appropriate folder and responds in a sensible, reasoned and unruffled manner.

With 30 years experience as an English/media teacher/HOD, Rachel became an in-school mentor in media studies for a newly developed ITE programme at her local university. When the programme expanded, she accepted a bigger role and made the move into teacher education on a full-time basis. A recently completed doctorate, and prior management roles in both schools and the university, made her an obvious choice to become head of programme in her newly merged institution.

JANE

Jane's office is at the end of a corridor, decorated with children's artwork and displays. I can hear her on the phone, tone at once authoritative and arch. Laughter at both ends seems to punctuate the listening. She turns, grins knowingly and ushers me in, pointing me to a seat covered in folders. It's hard to find a space. Despite the obvious tidiness, all available room is being used, and I heap the pile on top of another. Different piles identify her many areas of involvement. Shelves are crammed with folders labelled 'Student Work' and books on English education, second language learning, and media texts. Her texts for teachers, the most recent three written to support the implementation of NCEA standards, are among them.

Jane is all textures. The rough wool of her jacket and silky blouse, fitting trousers, big 50s brooch and earrings, and feisty blonde and red streaked hair. A force to be reckoned with. Walls, where not covered in shelving, feature photos of her son, the occasional inspirational quote, lists of important information, splashes of memorabilia and thanks from classes - the latest a large, ornate, scarlet, Chinese silk-knot courtesy of a recent group of Chinese educators whom she 'looked after' and taught for several weeks. It will be their turn to host her soon as she heads off to Beijing to teach summer classes abroad.

Before becoming a teacher educator, Jane taught secondary school for 11 years, holding positions of responsibility in three schools - finally as HOD. Her experience in teacher education spans a longer time frame than most, although a series of ins and outs characterised her initial pathway in. A teacher educator colleague initially shoulder-tapped her for a one-year contract only. She returned to school briefly before having time out with her first child, after which she took up a short-term relieving position as a lecturer. When a full-time, permanent position became vacant at college, she was appointed. Now in her 20th year in teacher education, where she has held various leadership and acting management roles within the merged institution, she is completing her doctorate among her many other roles.

LEWIS

I see Lewis before he sees me. He is casually dressed in polo-neck jersey, jeans and boots, and his familiar spiky hair cut reminds me once again of the Ted Hughes poem 'Thistles', an upright, lively statement in defiance of the winter cold. He grins a welcome, a throwaway greeting marking the familiarity of the relationship. We arrive together at his office, having played phone tag about arrival times. As we enter, he hangs his leather jacket and scarf in the cupboard behind his door and we settle in. His face is creased with his usual wry humour, and we catch up on news until there is a knock on the door. I listen while he cracks a joke with and thanks one of the facilities staff for braving the cold and making a special trip over with a delivery for him. He obviously has many friends. Lewis's warm expansive manner seems replicated in the large open office he inhabits, with its attractive, airy view of the back of the campus and western views out over student flats nearby and, in the distance, city and house-covered hills. Tidy clear spaces make it easy to see where everything is - computer on a separate computer trolley and a wide office desk; must be the end of a teaching block, as the surfaces are clear, except for some neat piles of folders and family photos. Everything is systematically organised: curriculum documents, personal teaching materials on shelves, neatly labelled file boxes. Filing cabinet. Plenty of space for more books on those shelves, if he needs it. We should all be so lucky!

Lewis's entry into teacher education came after a teaching career spanning over 15 years in a high school in a small rural town. Here he had had the opportunity to take on most key jobs in the school, including HOD of a major department. Lewis also had the chance to work closely with both student teachers and novice teachers. Unlike many of his counterparts, Lewis's teacher education experience has been largely cross-sector, and, from the beginning, has included, a mix of advisory (in-service) and pre-service work. He now holds a senior management position in a newly merged institution, but still teaches some classes in pre-service - classes he is loathe to surrender. He is a teacher at heart and proud of it.

MAGGIE

Clearly used to running a tight classroom, Maggie exudes the self-assurance born of her tall, slim physical stature, a wicked sense of humour, and superb organisation skills. She gives the immediate impression that she can dispatch the complex demands of her new role with frightening efficiency at the same time as managing small children and endless daily challenges. An immaculate office, bookshelves and the desk tidy and ordered. The clear surfaces, except for the obligatory computer, some photos and a pile of folders, are evidence that the person here is a relative newcomer who has not had time to fill every corner of a relatively small space with the usual clutter of the busy teacher educator.

Before taking up a one-year contract at the local college of education, Maggie spent 18 years in secondary teaching, gaining a taste for the profession from her first four and a half years in it, spent at a private boys' school. Prompted by her husband getting a new job, she began a five-year stint at another private boys' school in the North Island. Realising that it was time to move or be locked into the private system, she then gained a position in a girls' state school for three years. This was followed by shifts to two further cities and time off with pregnancy along with two and a half years back into teaching. After this, she gained a permanent position at the local co-educational high school, where she spent nine years and from which she took leave in order to take up a one-year relieving contract in teacher education. At the end of the year, she returned to her permanent position, with a new outlook, enhanced responsibilities and possibilities of advancement within the school, before moving to a new position as a deputy principal in a local girls' school the following year.

ACT 1, SCENE 1

The curtain rises on a College staffroom. Beyond the comfortable but dated chairs arranged in groups is a view through the double swing doors that lead to the toilets and principal's office. Sprawling fruit salad plants struggle towards the light in an over-stuffy atmosphere. On a large sideboard, various farewell gifts marking significant visits from overseas officials with more money than taste vie for space with a large vase of artificial flowers.

A spotlight shines on one of the circles of armchairs, in won't-show-the-dirt-so-badly-or-date beige. A table with three canisters of Kiwi institutional biscuits: krispies, wine biscuits and gingernuts. Over towards the kitchenette is a bench with a row of teas in containers. Gumbboot 'eau de floor-sweepings' in one; Earl Grey and English Breakfast sachets in tell-tale red and yellow, and Lemon Herbal in the others. To the left, a flashy new Robert Harris coffee machine. It whirs as someone makes a pseudo-cap.

Bella: *(A vibrant red-haired woman in her early sixties crosses the room talking as she walks. She half turns towards the willowy six-foot blonde in her wake.)* Shall we sit over there? *(Smiles in the direction of the chairs where several others are seated)* So, you were talking about why you came here, Maggie. What decided you? Are you a seeker or a foundling, so to speak?

Maggie: *(Recovering quickly from her momentary confusion, she grins)* A seeker, I think - if you mean what I think you do. *(She pauses and thinks)* Always saw it as one of my career options, though in the end it ended up a bit of a coin toss to be honest. I only applied the night before it closed. It was this or the police force! *(She laughs and pauses, aware of the power of dramatic effect)* I decided the hours were better here. Besides I didn't want the bother of having to have my eyes lasered! *(Cheekily)* Doesn't look like it matters if you're myopic round here.

Bella: *(Raises an eyebrow and smiles)* Mmmm, are we all looking that old? *(Nods over towards the two women huddled in the corner)* Have you met anyone else? Jan is new, too - fresh out of the classroom. Well, maybe not so fresh, but certainly straight from school. Jan is in primary language education.

Maggie: (*Appreciating the humour, smiles knowingly*) So what brought you here initially, Bella?

Bella: (*Smiles*) Oh, I was one of the foundlings - looking for a fresh pasture, if you'll excuse the mixed metaphor. Sometimes you get opportunities, and I think you're very fortunate to see one if you're not an active seeker. I suppose if you looked around, you would find that we are a mixture. There are people who know where they are going and people who are so 'in the moment' that they just get picked up on the winds of change. But we're all open to opportunities. I think that's something about us all, probably. Everybody who ends up here has got horizons to explore. (*She pauses and looks intensely into Maggie's face, her large orange earrings suddenly made available for closer scrutiny*) Anyway, come and meet some others. I know you've met Ali, haven't you? Tell Maggie how you got here! (*She watches as an enthusiastic greeting takes place between the two; they had previously been teachers at the same school*)

Ali: Me? Oh, someone *told* me I should apply. Had never thought about it, or even imagined it as a possibility, really. I think it took a lot of persuasive power on *someone's* part to convince me it might be a good idea (*she smiles pointedly in Lee's direction*). But I've never looked back. Oh! Sorry! (*Suddenly remembering that she hasn't introduced the others and restoring her usual courtesy*) Maggie, you haven't met Anna, Lewis or Lee yet. They're in secondary, too, among other things (*the four greet each other*).

Bella: (*Returning with several drinks in amber glass cups*) We were just talking about the main reason for coming here! Can any of you even remember? (*Smiles archly*)

Lee: (*Light gleaming on hennaed hair, bright green cloisonné fish earrings swinging as she gestures in Bella's direction*) Hard to remember since I got my 'life sentence'. This is my second time here actually. I was here over two years on a secondment from school and loved it so much I knew I wanted to come back. It took a while and a lot of thought, though, as I'd just taken on a new role on my return to school. Meant I had to take a considerable drop in salary. And I lost my tenure, and my superannuation. A big deal for someone like me, mid-career, in a great job already.

Ali: (*Nods her elegant white bob vigorously*) Mmmm. Not easy giving up tenure, I agree. Certainly, the salary thing's an issue, but I don't think about it. It's made up for in other ways. (*She grimaces and laughs*) The coffee, for example. (*Sniggers from the others*) Well, it's an improvement on what we used to get! And your own car park. (*Anna snorts*)

Maggie: (*Looks up in surprise*) Really? ...

Anna: Don't get your hopes up! (*Her face creases into a friendly smile and she gesticulates flamboyantly*) Actually, I applied from overseas. Just finished my PhD and we wanted to come home, and this job came up in my area, so I applied and, presto! I'd worked on short-term contracts doing some teacher ed stuff - done some relieving while I was studying, to pay the bills. This was an interesting challenge ... and I'm always on for those. What about you, Lewis?

Lewis: (*Thinks, running his hand through his spikes, looking straight at Maggie as he speaks*) Always wanted to be at teachers' college. Something that I actually aspired to, believe it or not. Don't scoff, you lot! Too 'woolly woofterish' a reason for a bloke, eh? Usual HOD route for ten years, among other things ... and I knew that I didn't want to go into senior management. (*Nods and murmurings of agreement from several others in the group*) The best part of my job at school had been dealing with beginning teachers - something I'd always loved doing. In my fifth year I was in charge of teacher registration and student teachers. So I really just wanted to make that official, you know. (*Smiles wryly and continues*) With our staff turnover and being an HOD, I found the job had become almost untenable. Seemed a logical move. I haven't regretted it either. Love it.

Maggie: (*Looking relieved*) I have to admit I was starting to get a wee bit cynical myself!

Bella: So what do you think, Maggie? Think you might like it? A change as good as a holiday? (*She lifts the plate and looks around the group*). Another gingernut, anyone?

This conversation did not, of course, occur as represented here, but almost all of the individual phrases or expressions that constitute it, did. It is re-constructed almost entirely from verbatim excerpts from the interview transcripts in the study, or my own research journal. The staffroom, I note, no longer exists - a casualty of the recent college-university merger.

As is my intent with the other creative pieces that preface each of the following chapters in the thesis, I use the scene to introduce the focus of the chapter and to prefigure some of the key themes that emerge from it.

CHAPTER 4. ON BECOMING A TEACHER EDUCATOR

Previous Professional Lives: Identity as Professional Background and Motivation

Bourdieu and the socio-culturalists remind us that a person's professional identity is socially negotiated over time. Among other things, it is a representation of one's occupational history and experience as these have adapted to new circumstances and through new work relationships. It also refers to what individuals value in themselves. However, social-psychologists such as Mead and Erikson, remind us that while one's professional identity might be socially *negotiated*, it is nevertheless psychologically *located* - it exists as the individual's perception of herself in the world, rather as than the world's perception of the individual. In other words, who I am, professionally, is a function of an inexorable dialogue between 'where I have come from' and 'what I want to be' (Mead's dialectic of the 'Me' and the 'I'). My professional identity derives in part from my previous professional life and roles - although it does not consist just of these - and it derives in part from my professional motivations, aspirations and goals, although it does not consist of only these either.

In this chapter, I investigate those aspects of the professional identity of the teacher educators in the study that were evoked through a discussion of their previous professional histories, their career decision to 'become' a teacher educator, and their initial experiences, or first impressions, of the job. I look at 'where they are at' as a function of 'where they had come from' - as a question of their occupational background and experience, as a question of their professional and personal motivations, their aspirations and expectations of the role, and as a question of the 'identity shock' they all reported experiencing during their transition to teacher education.

Historically, in Western jurisdictions, there seem to have been two main distinguishable 'pathways' into the job of teacher educator - or three if we count a part-time combination of these two as the third.

The academic pathway

The first of these - the 'academic pathway' - is followed when experienced or inexperienced teachers decide to further their academic study through a Master's or a doctorate at the university, either to improve their practice in anticipation of a return to teaching, or in the

hope that study might lead to an academic career as a teacher educator. In other words, one comes to teacher education by first becoming a professor. This academic pathway has characterised most teacher education in North America since the 1950s. For example, Bullough (2005) highlights mentoring interns as a pathway into teacher education. Dinkelman, Margolis, and Sikkenga's study (2006) exemplifies a typical graduate teaching-assistant pathway. More recently, this pathway has become the increasingly typical one in the UK and Australasia, yet it is not unproblematic. Brown (1998), in a British context, highlights the fact that new teacher educators "need a great deal of time to catch up with the scholarship, research skills and research experience" - more so than colleagues in other disciplines, and particularly for those educators who come with strong school-based experience. Acker's (1997) study of women teacher educators in Canadian faculties of education, for example, describes this typical 'doctoral' or 'professorial' pathway into the North American academy, and identifies several issues that characterise the career patterns for those traversing it. Among the 30 women studied, the most common career pathway was 'from school teaching to doctorate to university professorship', although for some, in particular the younger women, this sequence excluded school-teaching experience and consisted of only the last two steps. The stories for those entering later, or mid-career, were ones of 'catching up', of difficulties with upgrading qualifications and finding appropriate employment in tenure-track positions, of feeling they were not being taken seriously, and of struggling to reach ever-rising expectations of academic productivity and the research output of younger, research-track high-flyers.

Some commentators have gone so far as to question the relevance of an essentially *research* qualification - the doctorate - as the primary qualification for a job as teacher educator. They advocate a specialist adult-teaching qualification, such as the UK's Post Graduate Certificate in Education in Higher Education (PGCE in HE) as more appropriate and useful (Murray, 2005a, 2005b). Others lament the exploitation of part-time doctoral students or those with little teaching and/or research experience that tends to occur when they are employed as course tutors, sessional assistants or practicum mentors. Zeichner (2005), for example, claims that, in the US, the doctoral students who do much of "the work of teacher education ... receive little preparation and continuing support ...[and their role in teacher education merely] enables them to engage in the more high-status activities of research and publication" (p. 119). He argues that even in colleges and universities where teacher education is core business, there is often no teacher education qualification and/or little experience required; teacher education staff face heavier teaching loads than their colleagues,

and practicum supervision is ‘farmed out’ to adjunct staff who have little connection to the rest of the teacher education programme and very little decision-making power within the institution (Goodlad, 1990; Zeichner, 2005, p. 119).

Even in jurisdictions where teacher education has more recently been ‘academised’, a reduction in perceived status and increased casualisation of teacher education appears to have accompanied the shifts. Ling (2002), for example, found that the sessional staff employed to teach in Australian teacher education courses were generally classroom teachers, either currently practising, recently retired or enrolled as post-graduate research students; nearly all were part-time. Some of the particular adaptation difficulties experienced by these and other former classroom teachers taking the academic pathway included their adoption of appropriate adult teaching styles, their ability to theorise about the social, political and economic context of education, and their ability to reflectively critique existing school practices. Martinez’s (2008) study stresses similar challenges for teacher educators. While acknowledging that teacher education is a special case, she advocates for a robust induction programme for *all* academics, including teacher educators, in order to break down the “historical insularity - and inferiority - of teacher education in the higher education sector” (p. 49).

The practitioner pathway

The second pathway - the ‘practitioner pathway’ - is followed when an experienced and successful teacher, often in a middle or senior management position in a school and particularly in the case of those entering secondary teacher education, takes up a position directly from school in a teacher training institution, sometimes a university, until recently more often a specialist college of education, and usually as an alternative to climbing even further up the career ladder in schools. This was the career path that characterised most teacher education in the UK and Australia prior to the neo-liberal reforms of higher education there in the late 1980s and 1990s, and that characterised teacher education in New Zealand until the very end of last century. The direct recruitment of expert or experienced classroom teachers for the role continues to be part of a strong practitioner tradition in the preparation of New Zealand teachers, despite the recent relocation of teacher education primarily to the universities (Kane, 2005).

Like the academic pathway, the practitioner pathway has also been subject to critique as an ‘adequate background’ for undertaking the job of teacher educator, although for different and contrapuntal reasons. Zeichner (2005) identifies an underlying assumption in

much of the advocacy on the practitioner pathway: "... that educating teachers is something that does not require any additional preparation and that if one is a good teacher of elementary or secondary students, this expertise will automatically carry over to one's work with novice teachers" (p. 118). He suggests that the lack of academic preparation involved is one of the reasons for the low perceived status of teacher education in the universities, but he also sees the latter as a reason for the apparent lack of effective induction processes and professional development opportunities for novice teacher educators.

Arguing in a similar vein, Murray (2005b) suggests that while teacher educators' entry into the academy "may look like a small shift of occupation" (p. 71), it is, in fact, "that same accomplishment in schools that leads to a deficit view of teacher educators in the academy, leaving them destined to be 'semi-academics' outside the academic research culture, defined and bound by their previous work with young children in school (p. 44).

Martinez (2008) agrees that teacher educators' "prior success as teacher[s] appears to present as a double-edged sword" (p. 44). Her study of the induction processes in Australian universities isolates six specific transition challenges for teacher educators arriving in tertiary institutions direct from the classroom. These are a mixture of cultural/professional issues related to their place in the wider institutional community and culture, and personal/professional issues related to their individual identities and expertise as academics and educators. The six transition challenges were:

- The shift from teaching children to teaching adults, which required somewhat different teaching strategies and modes of interpersonal communication;
- An increased professional autonomy and independence that was often associated with feelings of being overwhelmed or even an imposter in the new role;
- Working with unfamiliar institutional structures, policies and regulations, different kinds of colleagues, and different institutional politics - a situation that could lead to a sense of isolation and powerlessness;
- Adjusting to new technologies and unfamiliar online learning environments;
- Difficulties in 'practising what they preached' as pedagogy; and
- An alien research and promotion culture.

Both pathways

There are, therefore, issues concerning the nature and adequacy of previous experience and preparedness in relation to both pathways, all of which are clearly likely to impact on a novice teacher educators' development of a (new) professional identity. Not the least of these

is that while practitioners often lack deep theoretical knowledge, postgraduate research students often lack practical experience in their field. There is, however, consensus that in most jurisdictions the initial professional preparation of teacher educators *is* professionally inadequate and conceptually problematic. Whether they come from the academic pathway via a research degree, or from the practitioner pathway straight from a school, teacher educators are almost always ‘untimely ripp’d’ into the career. More motivated than prepared, they are a teacher or a research student one day, a teacher educator the next.

In the UK, one response to this concern has been to encourage academics in all disciplines, including teacher education, to gain formal qualifications (the PGCE in HE) in order to teach in higher education (Murray & Male, 2005). Elsewhere, though, it seems that neither successful experience as a school teacher per se nor capability as a researcher, as evidenced in gaining a doctorate, stands as an ideal or even sufficient preparation for ‘becoming’ a teacher educator.

Deciding to become: great escape or leap of faith?

For many of us, becoming a university-based teacher educator is the unexplained, the unintended, even the seemingly impossible. (Weber, 1985, p. 159)

On the basis of three surveys of teacher educators entering teacher education through the academic pathway conducted during the 1980s, Reynolds, McCulloch, Bendixen-Noe, and Morrow (1994) identified the main motivations for teachers becoming teacher educators as:

- Love of teaching - the teachers saw university-based teacher education as an alternative form of teaching;
- Greater opportunities for academic freedom, intellectual challenge, and stimulation;
- Greater opportunity to influence the teaching profession; and
- Opportunity to combine discipline interests with an interest in teaching and pedagogy.

Negative factors also influenced the teachers’ decisions to become teacher educators. These included:

- Lack of opportunities for advancement in schools;
- Frustration with the relatively static or repetitive nature of school teaching; and
- Dissatisfaction with school colleagues.

Other significant themes and drivers in teachers’ decisions to ‘become’ teacher educators, as inferred from more recent case study accounts (most of them individual case

studies, life-histories, personal narratives, or self-studies) include:

- Determination, conscious intentionality and deliberate career planning (Acker, 1997);
- Drifting or stumbling into teacher education, perhaps with the intention of returning to classroom teaching (Bullough, 2008; Kitchen, 2005; Wimmer, 2003; Zeichner 1995);
- Taking the well-trodden academic pathway through, or as a means of funding, doctoral study (Bullough, 1997b; Ritter, 2007; Scherff & Kaplan, 2006);
- A desire to understand better the nature of teaching and to improve practice through further study and role expansion (Chin, 1997; Guilfoyle, Hamilton, Pinnegar, & Placier, 1995; Kitchen, 2005);
- Active sponsorship and encouragement from colleagues, advisers, mentors, and professional friends (Bullough, 1997a; Wimmer, 2003);
- Serendipity and coincidence, being in the right place at the right time, good timing and good luck (Wimmer, 2003); and
- Specific critical incidents or personal circumstances that precipitated the career choice (Cole & Knowles, 1995; Wimmer, 2003).

Interestingly, Weber (1985) explores more deeply how the last of these ‘drivers’, the notion of taking on the status of a ‘professor of education’ in a university, served as a powerful attractant for some of those taking the academic pathway. For the participants in her doctoral study, the invitation to take up teacher educator positions evoked a range of emotions, from disbelief, surprise and consternation, through to a sense of flattery and excitement (pp. 159–160).

All at once, it makes the seemingly impossible perhaps possible ... In accepting a position that officially labels us ‘professor of education’, we are invited to seek a personal meaning within the title. That meaning may initially have more to do with the idea, challenge, or honor of becoming a university professor than with a well-defined sense of mission or deep sense of what it means to be a teacher educator. (Weber, 1985, p. 160)

Weber goes on to emphasise the mix of elation and unease that her participants felt as they came to terms with this new title and the identity it prefigured: “... it is only after dealing with the name ‘professor’ that we can turn our attention to our identity as teacher educator.” She also acknowledges that “for those of us who began as teacher educators outside of faculties of education, however, the experience might be quite different” (p. 161). The experience is indeed different for many teacher educators in the New Zealand context,

where teacher education has been based, until very recently, in specialist colleges rather than universities. Nearly all of these educators have come to teacher education via the practitioner/teacher pathway. For them, the term ‘professor’ would be understood as a title earned by those who had achieved, through promotion, the highest level of prominence in research within the university.

The Career Histories of the Teacher Educators in the Study

Historically, teacher educators in New Zealand have been highly successful classroom teachers, with considerable experience and leadership responsibility in their school, who have come to teacher education through the practitioner pathway. As a matter of national profile, all teacher educators, working in secondary teacher education, though this is not necessarily the case for those in primary teacher education, will have one or more Bachelor’s degrees or, more usually, a Master’s degree in their subject area, and a one-year (Graduate) Diploma in Teaching. There is also a high likelihood that, in addition to experience in middle management as heads of department (HoDs) or senior management (assistant principal (AP), deputy principal¹⁴ (DP), principal) and extensive experience as associate teachers,¹⁵ they will have brought with them high community credibility and leadership experience at regional and/or national levels (Whatman, 1997).

The participants in the study not only fitted this profile but viewed all of these experiences as prerequisites for successful engagement as a teacher educator. The average time that the group had spent teaching in secondary schools alone ranged between 12 to 20+ years. All but one of the participants had been a HoD in a large urban or a rural school and had usually held a wide range of responsibilities within their school. Two came from the senior management position of DP. All brought extensive mentoring experiences. Lewis, Ali, Bella, Rachel, and Maggie had all mentored pre-service students on practicum or beginning teachers in their first years on the job. Ali, for example, had been responsible, for over five years, for the induction and ongoing mentoring of six beginning teachers into her department. Lewis had been in charge of the registration (accreditation) process for large numbers of Year 1 and Year 2 (provisionally registered) teachers within his school.

¹⁴ In NZ schools, senior management positions include assistant principal (AP) and deputy principal (DP).

¹⁵ The term Associate Teacher is synonymous with what, in other contexts, may be called in-school mentors, or that elsewhere in the literature is termed cooperating teachers. There are subtle national differences in the conceptualisation of these roles.

All but Maggie had also facilitated the professional development of student teachers and/or colleagues. Bella and Dan had worked for several years for School Advisory Services. Ali had facilitated a professional qualification with 12 staff within her school. Sarah had worked at tertiary level on and off over the years before taking up a more permanent position. Anna had worked in in-service professional development over many years in both the tertiary sector and schools, and Jane and Rachel had had considerable experience working with colleagues in in-service contexts as well.

Two of the group, Jane and Sarah, had taken a part-time route into teacher education, or had more than one temporary experience of the role before returning to take-up a full-time position. Their entry could thus be seen as something that had come about by their being in the right place at the right time, and being ‘available’ because of time-out with parenting or other responsibilities that made their employment choices more flexible. Already experienced teachers, they were also possibly more open to offers of part-time or short-term contract work. Neither initially saw this work as a long-term shift.

Four other members of the group came in on short-term contracts (one to two years) and had extended their tenure either into further two- or three-year contract positions or into tenured positions. One other came into her university on a confirmation path where tenure depended on completion of a doctorate within a designated time frame. Another, Maggie, came in on a one-year contract and subsequently returned to a position in her previous school. Only one came in to a tenured position on arrival.

Despite these clear differences in individual pathways and experience, there were also many commonalities. All members of the group had been highly experienced and successful specialist teachers of a core curriculum area in their schools, and all shared a reading interest in both their subject area and pedagogy more generally. All had held a variety of leadership roles in schools, either running departments or representing staff as union representatives. All but one had been involved, in ongoing ways, in in-service work with other teachers, either formally as advisers¹⁶ or informally in their roles as HODs, as executive members of their subject associations, and/or as senior members of the English/drama communities. This in-service work had typically centred on professional development courses to support curriculum or assessment implementation. Almost all had also been involved in national policy development, either as facilitators in implementing major Ministry of Education

¹⁶ Historically, the Ministry of Education funded the Support Services arm of the traditional colleges of education to carry out professional development and implement new initiatives with teachers. Those carrying out such work were termed advisers. As a result of the institutional mergers, advisers have, for the most part, become re-designated as non-academic positions.

professional development programmes or as members of advisory, reference and/or writing groups associated with the development of national curriculum and assessment initiatives.

Collectively, they identified the benefits of their common background as:

- Their high credibility with students as recent practitioners in schools;
- Their fresh opportunities for reflection about teaching philosophy and practice;
- The personal and professional development and challenge that accompanied the change;
- The potential enhancement of future employment opportunities as a result of having worked at their respective colleges of education; and
- Strengthened future links between schools and centres and universities, including the potential for collaborative research.

Taken together, these characteristics describe key elements of the ‘professional identity’ that the educators had subscribed to as schoolteachers, and that they now brought as a foundation for the professional identity they were about to develop as teacher educators. They all came initially into teacher education through the long experience of the ‘practitioner pathway’. They had come in as ‘teachers’ more than as either ‘professors’ or ‘researchers’. They had come in as experienced ‘subject leaders’ and as experienced ‘mentors’, or at least ‘associate teachers’, of either novice teachers or experienced colleagues. And they had all come in to a lower salary! They may have been uncertain about what it might mean to become a teacher educator, and even come in feeling, inadequately prepared, but they were clearly *motivated*.

Their Motivations and Aspirations

The motivations of the teacher educators in this study - the drivers and attractants that determined their decision to enter the profession of teacher education - were varied and multi-faceted, both for individuals and for the group. Their decisions, like those of many of their international colleagues, were the culmination of a complex intertwining of many factors. Their decisions exemplified varying priority balances involving both internal (personal/psychological) and external (social/collegial) stimuli - a combination of both ‘push’ factors that made leaving their school environment a compelling desirability, and ‘pull’ factors that attracted or drew them specifically to teacher education.

Seekers and foundlings

Bella's metaphor of 'seekers and foundlings' that opened the 'Scene' at the beginning of this chapter offers an interesting starting point for thinking about what motivates teacher educators to enter the profession. While the metaphor's binary nature suggests a deceptively simple decision process, it nonetheless is a useful referent when analysing what the teacher educators in the study said - and felt - about why they wanted to become teacher educators and what their aspirations in respect of this role were on first entering it. The metaphor particularly connotes the amount of intentionality, career planning and pre-consideration involved, and the importance of active sponsorship, personal 'patronage' and encouragement from significant professional others.

There's a huge amount of luck in who gets them into teacher education, because, well, I guess you could divide the field into those who are seeking and those who are found. (Interview, 2004)

Ali's initial entry in to the profession, for example, was clearly as a foundling. It was not a role she had even considered until a colleague already in teacher education "told me", even cajoled her, to apply:

I have never seen myself as being the most bit likely, or having anything to offer as a teacher educator. It just never entered my conception ... It just scared the hell out of me. I can't say that it was something that I had on my ambition line or anything like that. I'm not ambitious. I don't do those things. It's just fate. (Interview, 2004)

Ali's fate metaphor holds connotations of inevitability and of being something beyond one's professional scope - almost beyond one's control. It implies a willing acceptance of the opportunity presented by others, rather than active seeking out of the role for herself. The potential that others saw in her figured strongly in her subsequent decision-making. She expressed this as an awareness of the "kick up the bum" that she often needed in order to expand her horizons or make significant changes in her life.

The little girl in me gets frightened of doing things, and I often need to be pushed into them ... I dipped my toe in, and away I went. ... I am delighted too ... I have just grown so much and learnt so much and enjoyed it so much, and I haven't regretted it for a moment. (Interview, 2004)

Jane too, was a foundling. Like Ali, she was "persuaded" by a significant other to

apply. In Jane's case, the persuasion was tempered by the serendipities of her personal circumstances, that of having just started a new secondary teaching job. Along with Ali, she had not previously considered the prospect; nor has she considered it a career path. In fact, it was with reluctance that she agreed to accept a one-year contract, one she was not keen to extend. It was convenient at the time but that was all.

SM rang me and *begged* me to apply ... So I did and got it and was offered a two-year position, but I wouldn't take a two-year one after the one-year one because I didn't know if that was what I wanted to do ... I hadn't really thought about being a teacher educator ... Then SM went off to a small consultancy job in Samoa, and I came in to relieve for him. Then they had a job going after SM left, and it just seemed silly not to apply. ... Yeah, so that's how come I came back. (Interview, 2004)

Jane's reasons for becoming were thus a complex combination of sponsorship, external 'pull' factors and ever-changing personal circumstances. In terms of the seeker/foundling metaphor, she fits the foundling category, as someone sought out by others who recognised her potential and valued what she might bring to the position. On the other hand, her availability was largely determined by the exigencies of personal circumstances: she was in the right place at the right time in relation to the relieving positions offered. Her initial experiences as a teacher educator doubtless convinced her of the appropriateness, sense or desirability - something she described somewhat lukewarmly as "silly not to" - of applying for a full-time, tenured position once it came available.

In contrast, Lewis was a seeker. For him, teacher education was an attractive career path - something to be actively sought:

I aspired to do this job. It always seemed to me to be an interesting one. I thought then, and still do now, that it is an under-rated job and an undervalued one. So much effort has been put into so many other areas of education but so little into the role of those who teach the teachers. (Interview, 2004)

Despite (or perhaps because of) his feeling that the role was "under-rated" by his colleagues, he was more than ready to leave his current position. Nor, for him, was seeking a position in pre-service teacher education a short-term plan or merely time-out to refresh before returning to classroom teaching. It was a deliberately planned professional career

move. It was the result of a number of critical factors that converged, leaving him with a feeling of being at a professional crossroads.

Being an HOD had become almost untenable in terms of teaching five classes and administrating a department and doing the other senior provisional stuff. And I certainly didn't want to be administrator, so it was a logical move that I made. (Interview, 2004)

Lewis's reasons for making the shift clearly included wanting to escape from an increasingly complex and difficult middle management role, and *not* wanting to do this through the typical senior management route to deputy principal or principal, but they were not confined to these. On the more positive side of the ledger, his prior experiences had confirmed his belief that "this was a job I could do".

In my fifth year [at the school], I was in charge of teacher registration, and also in charge of student teachers - a big job at that time because there was huge staff turnover. So I had actually been doing ... lots of useful observation [of teacher practice], lots of diagnostic stuff, lots of support, and lots of mentoring for a long, long time, and so I really just wanted to make that official ... I was also at the point where I had done every major job in a secondary school. The only step was senior management, and I didn't want to go there simply because I wanted to continue to *teach*. (Interview, 2004)

Lewis's internal conviction that senior management in a school was not the route he wished to take was strong. Nor was the "other alternative [to become 'merely' a classroom teacher] ... an option that was open to me ... [because] for some reason I seem destined to take a leadership role." Other school experiences, such as serving on pre-service teacher selection panels for the local college of education also added to 'the mix'. He felt he had important work to do and much to offer outside the school sector. For Lewis, his own touchstone - teaching is a calling and the needs of school students must come first - is a constant clarion call, even though he recognises that his view is not necessarily shared.

The other thing, and I find this is quite a difficult one, I still do see teaching rightly or wrongly as a vocation. That is because of my upbringing, because, as I mentioned, [of] the person that I had initially as a teacher, and that does not always sit as easily with the generation of students that I now have. Some of

them do share that view; others are very, very clear that this is not something they view as a vocation. (Interview, 2003)

So although ‘push’ factors were very strong for Lewis, external ‘pull’ factors were important too. Teacher education represented for him a way of moving on in his career without having to give up teaching, of getting promotion without compromising his sense of vocation. When a position arose, he felt the timing was “right”. Being encouraged to apply by predecessors in the roles - people whom he respected but did not feel, as he said, “overawed by” - added to the sense that this was a job he could do.

Fallow fields and greener pastures

Most participants’ motivations were, therefore, not as clear-cut as Bella’s seeker-foundling metaphor might imply. More often they were a complex interweaving of factors, sometimes tipping in one direction, sometimes another. This was certainly true of Bella’s own entry into the career of teacher education. Bella acknowledged that before taking up her current pre-service position she had already made a move ‘from school’ into in-service teacher education as an adviser. For Bella, like Dan, the move had initially been a short-term secondment from her school, and she had expected that at the end of it she would return to her substantive teaching job in her school. But again like Dan, she found that this brief “taster”, and the “dipping of the toes” that Ali referred to, gave her confidence that the role was one she could “grow” into. She described the new professional learning that teacher education offered her as a means of ‘half escaping’, from the fenced-in fields of the classroom to ‘greener’, less confining ‘pastures’.

I had already half-escaped. By telling the board¹⁷ that “If you want your cow to be happy, give her a large pasture” ... I got my large pasture, and that’s really how I landed in this one. Then, once I was in this one, of course, there are many gates out of this pasture ... and the buttercups were here. (Interview, 2004)

Bella described herself as having been something of a seeker with respect to her initial (in-service) experience of teacher education, but as more of a foundling with respect to her decision to move from advisory (where she was on a non-tenured contract while on leave from her permanent position at school) into pre-service teacher education. She recalled having been “shoulder-tapped” to apply by a pre-service colleague with whom she worked

¹⁷ In New Zealand schools, the Board of Trustees is the community-elected body that governs each individual school.

closely. Amplifying on her decision to take up the pre-service position, she extended the greener pastures metaphor by acknowledging the attractions that pre-service teacher education offered. Her buttercups metaphor was a recognition of her own refocused interest in curriculum and of her expectation that pre-service teacher education would offer her a greater opportunity for collegiality and sharing mutual interests with her teacher-educator peers.

Dan, too, was “ready to move on”. Although having little interest in a school senior-management position, he wanted change, new challenges after over a decade of teaching and leading a school department.

I was at that stage of ‘what do I do next?’, you know. And I didn’t want to be DP. It’s probably a very familiar story this. So, this opportunity came up. It was a one-year secondment, so I decided to take it up ... I just wanted a change, I suppose, and it seemed an option for a year. But it ... [turned out that] I liked the place, and it seemed likely that the secondary division was going to grow, so I turned the secondment into a permanent job in 1989 and stayed on. I’d been teaching for 13 years, so it was at the time I thought, “Where to next?” (Interview, 2004)

Despite knowing he would miss his relationships with adolescents, he was nevertheless attracted by the idea of moving out beyond the confines of a secondary classroom, of leaving it ‘fallow’ for a while so that he could regenerate. Like Lewis, he felt that his ‘taster’ year had confirmed he had the skills to make the shift.

I was quite good at adapting. I’m quite versatile. It’s that movement. The thing I didn’t like about secondary teaching is [that in] your own classroom, you’re kind of stuck there really. I mean the relationship with the pupils is good, and I love the energy you get from teenagers that you don’t get from twenty-somethings in quite the same way, but you never really got outside your own classroom. (Interview, 2004)

At the time, Dan, like Bella, Maggie and Jane, did not expect his secondment to last beyond the year of his initial contract, but the lure of a permanent position that arose during the year within a growing secondary programme became a compelling prospect. Interestingly, although Dan’s first position in teacher education was in a different sector (primary), he described his work in the secondary programme as similar to what he had been doing in

primary. The move from primary to secondary teacher education required flexibility and offered him the adventure of moving out of his comfort zone to try something new.

Dan, too, acknowledged the push and the pull factors at work. As was the case with Lewis, he had no desire to buy ‘the familiar story’ of the traditional hierarchical career path in secondary schools - from middle management to senior management as deputy principal or principal. His decision to leave, albeit temporarily initially, was in part a rejection of this option. But it was also a function of the attraction of the challenge of building a new programme with a secondary focus, of having a sense of ‘movement’ in his career, and of experiencing a broadening and enriching of his professional horizons.

Unlike Lewis and Dan, who were not interested in advancing to the top of the school hierarchy, Rachel, on her entry to teacher education, had already held a senior management position in a large multicultural co-educational high school. Nevertheless, her entry into pre-service was also the result of a mix of internal and external push and pull factors, and was, like theirs, gradual or ‘staged’, as her decision to take a full-time position was also made after a year’s part-time work in the programme. It was the opportunity to combine teacher education with studying for a Master’s degree in education within the same institution that initially engaged her interest. A self-confessed lifelong learner, she too was motivated by a desire to further develop her understandings in androgogical and pedagogical issues, especially those relating to leadership and professional mentoring. She found the mixture of study and teaching allowed her to broaden her knowledge set and to apply it at the same time.

In the structure of degree and the management there were papers on leadership and papers on organisational policy and theory, and then a paper on mentoring and one on teaching and learning, which I just loved. They were just fabulous. ... I had had several years of higher study at that stage that had focused me very much on working with adults. (Interview, 2004)

Rachel’s work in pre-service thus began with part-time work as a curriculum mentor for student teachers in a relatively small and new university programme, a position for which she was shoulder-tapped as a result of her expertise and academic course choices in her degree studies. When invited to join the programme full-time at the end of the year by a colleague for whom she had a great deal of respect, she was delighted and enthusiastic at the prospect of being part of a team that was “developing something new and innovative” and of being able to simultaneously continue broadening her academic interests.

While Sarah's experience in teacher education was somewhat similar to Jane's and Rachel's in that her entry was similarly staggered, it differed in that her service was not continuous but chunked into two separate time periods. As was the case for Dan, her experience initially involved working across both primary and secondary sectors, teaching several short courses in different specialism areas. Her initial stint in the early 1980s working "for several years in the primary programme, specifically working in papers doing children's literature and approaches to film" and doing temporary advisory work ended when her part-time position was disestablished, so she took up a position in a local high school where she stayed for 16 years, moving though to the role of acting deputy principal. During that period, another spell back in the university saw her tutoring and working as a research assistant for some key academics while on leave from her school on a PPTA¹⁸ scholarship that enabled her to upgrade her qualifications. However, when the opportunity to return more permanently to pre-service teacher education arose sometime later, she found the decision to take it up difficult. "As fate would have it," she said, she had to make a "huge decision", that of choosing between two positions offered to her on the same day: one as DP of another school, and one in secondary teacher education.

The notion of 'fate' - a term also used by Ali - seemed, for Sarah, to connote unusual or coincidental timing that forced a choice that otherwise she might not have needed to make. Ultimately, Sarah made her decision on two main grounds, both of which involved pull factors. First, as had been the case for Rachel, it offered her the chance for academic advancement because it would give her opportunity to continue to upgrade her qualifications. Second, like Lewis, Ali, Rachel and Jane, it gave her the challenge of making a difference for students.

I decided that, there are two things - one was quite a selfish one. One was that I thought here was an opportunity for me to actually continue with my own work and my own qualifications as I had been doing my Master's while I was at my school. Yes, selfishly I wanted to do a PhD, but it's part of my contract anyway so that fitted in quite nicely for me. Secondly, because you think, "Here's an opportunity to actually touch kids in schools in a much wider way - through training English teachers." ... The challenge of that I've found quite exciting, and I still find it exciting. (Interview, 2004)

¹⁸ PPTA is the Post-Primary Teachers Association, the main union for secondary teachers in New Zealand.

While the notion of seeker rather than foundling was more appropriate for Maggie, good timing - what Wimmer (2003) terms serendipity - and spontaneous decision-making were the reasons why she applied for a position in teacher education. Her attitude was phlegmatic, and her initial decision to go ahead was largely the result of a number of short-term push factors:

I think applying for the job was maybe just a spur of the moment thing that happened. [I was] on the Edusearch, on the computer, saw it the night before, had a conversation with my principal where he was talking about his direction for this year, and I decided that's not where I wanted to go for the year, so I thought, "Well, I'll just put it there for good and apply for this one and see what happens. ... I'm not saying that significantly I really wanted it. [What I was saying was that] I'll love it if it happens, great. If not, I'll do it again another time. (Interview, 2004)

Although, for Maggie, the need for a change - a break from school and the school management directions for the year - was a factor, she, unlike Lewis, did not consider her decision to become a teacher educator a long-term one at that stage. Rather, teacher education was the chance for some time-out:

I think [it was a matter of] loving what I do, but seventeen years of teenagers, I needed a wee bit of refreshment; starting to get a little bit cynical, just a little bit cynical. And I look at lots of my colleagues and staff, for instance, who have gone beyond that ... and it's not where I wanted to go. (Interview, 2004)

Maggie also saw "coming to College" as an avenue for personal advancement and further professional development, but it was not the only option up for consideration. "The police force - that's always been something in the back of my mind." Yet, along with joining the police force, teacher education was always at the back of her mind as a long-term career goal:

I had always wanted to come here [college of education] eventually, always been something that I'm really keen on, and I think maybe because I have been a liaison teacher for five years I've got to know a lot of the tutors a lot better. I've come to college on these liaison visits and it's been quite an exciting prospect to eventually get there ... A year would be great, but as much as would I want to do long term at this stage? ... I would certainly like to come back here

in ten or fifteen years. (Interview, 2004)

Maggie's school role as liaison teacher, a role that required her to liaise with pre-service providers, organise timetables for student teachers and look after them for the time they were on teaching practice, had both whetted her interest and contributed to her familiarity with the practicum part of the students' programme.

Missionaries and metamorphs

For all nine participants, the notion of 'service' - the chance to have an impact beyond their own schools on the profession at a macro level - was another powerful motivator. Ali, like others, recognised that the appeal of the role was partly due to its potential for social good.

There is a huge amount of good you can do ... I'm one of those ... naive people that decide to teach because they want to make a difference, and I still do, but you can't, you want to have an opportunity to still make a difference at that level, and it seems to me that you do it at that level of helping teacher trainees to be better equipped to do their job, better in a classroom. And that's why I thought it was always an exciting prospect. (Interview, 2004)

The service-oriented motivation took various guises across the group. Lewis's guiding principle in his work with student teachers related to the needs of adolescents in schools. All of his decision-making was based on this premise.

All of those complexities can make it very difficult to make a decision, so ... you go, once again for your touchstone; you have to go back to those kids that you can see in your own head as a basis for making the decision. So it is still about kids in the classroom. (Interview, 2003)

For Maggie, making a difference was tied up with the notion of doing a better job for students than the one she saw being done. Her intent as a new teacher educator was to have a direct influence on what happens in secondary classrooms, based on her belief in the power of teachers. In her view, the better equipped teachers are, the more likely they are to make a difference for student learning, a premise that had become much more of a focus for her in recent years.

I am an absolutely passionate believer that teachers can make or break people. I've seen both. And it breaks my heart when I see the negative, and the fact that the negative's catching. And I think it's a life-long curse on some people ...

education. I figure that perhaps I can help trainees to be better at what they do. (Interview, 2004)

Ali also emphasised her strong sense of purpose, especially the social value inherent in the role and the sense of responsibility accompanying it.

Someone said to me a couple of years ago, “I can’t think of anything more important than teaching people to be teachers.” ... I started thinking a bit about it, and it is a huge responsibility, and I always feel the responsibility that often bears down on you. But it’s hugely satisfying, really satisfying, and I get great pleasure when I see them teaching ... in schools. I do feel a sense of responsibility for them, which includes feeling bad about those who aren’t strong. The fact is I’m really interested in education. I always have been, and I am really interested, deeply interested in what we are doing. I read about education; I care about it. It is an incredibly important role I believe. (Interview, 2004)

Dan, the most experienced teacher educator of the group, echoed similar sentiments, along with his profound belief in the importance of modelling, in its most holistic sense, as a means of achieving such goals.

One of the reasons I came here in the first place was because I thought I could be a good example, a good model for the teacher, and that’s what I want to do. I wanted to show other people how to be a good teacher, as I understood it, and I’m still doing that. I think that’s really why people should be appointed to places like this; not because they’re scholars - if they are, that’s a bonus - but because they’re outstanding examples of the kind of people you’re trying to produce. Because that’s the lesson at the end of the day - a classroom is what the teacher is. What they do and are is what people remember, not what happens in their studies or in the articles that’s they’ve written. I mean the two things are connected, and there are some marvellous people that are very good at both, but it doesn’t always happen. (Interview, 2004)

The problematic nature of direct transference between teacher education to classroom practice rated no mention by any of the group, perhaps emphasising, initially at least, a strongly idealistic if naive sense of moral purpose, rather than a realistic awareness of the research around the ‘washout effects’ of teacher education (Zeichner & Tabachnik, 1981).

As someone in the later stages of his career, Lewis had found the idea of leaving a legacy an increasingly important one. He wanted to “give back”.

There is a stage where you feel that one of your prime responsibilities in life is to give back to people or to give to people behind you, and feeling that that is an important and worthwhile thing to do, and I guess that is. Well, at the moment I guess that that is where I feel I am now. (Interview, 2003)

While the other participants were not so explicit as Lewis about their sense of mission or moral purpose in the role, all of them to varying degrees highlighted their belief in the role as one that is socially worthwhile and one that has the potential to make a difference for the student teachers they work with and, as a spin-off, for students in schools and schooling in general. A key motivation in becoming, and for their subsequent practices as teacher educators, was a desire to make a contribution to schooling well beyond the local context of the individual classroom.

The final theme to emerge from the group’s accounts of their motivations and aspirations relating to their decision to become teacher educators is that of metamorphosis - a consciousness of having to change from what they were, and to grow, not only into a new job but also into something else as a professional persona. Although several of the group initially saw the role as short-term or a temporary sojourn in a different kind of paddock, to use Bella’s metaphor, becoming a teacher educator was not just a matter of taking time out to refresh and regenerate from the demands of secondary schools. The move expressed a longer-term commitment (eventually) to reinventing oneself as a different kind professional identity - of ‘making a career of it’.

Anna’s story follows as just one such case of both strategic and accidental reinvention. While Anna’s motivations were similar in several respects to those sketched above, she was rather different in regard of one or two of her key drivers. Like Jane and Ali, Anna alluded to her decision to become a teacher educator as a matter of ‘fate’. When narrating the story of her return to New Zealand after finishing her PhD abroad in order to take up a pre-service position in her current institution, she described ‘fate’ not as something pre-determined but as something more random, perhaps fortuitous, close in some ways to Jane’s story of serendipity. The sequence of her entry into pre-service teacher education shared some similarities with Sarah’s, especially in terms of part-time entry, lack of tenure, and the piecemeal, short-course nature of the teaching she had been doing at her university while completing her doctorate. Yet there were also differences. Despite Anna’s prior teaching

experience at both primary and tertiary (polytechnic) levels, her entry to teacher education arose primarily through her being enrolled as a full-time doctoral student. Her major motivation at this stage of her career in teacher education was pragmatically financial - the need to earn an income while she studied full-time.

I enrolled full-time [in the PhD] and worked ... only teaching the numbers of hours that we were allowed to teach as full-time students. I was teaching those for them as a seasonal lecturer ... I was teaching in pre-service ... primary, special ed., and secondary ... And also, for one block ... I did a relatively intense course called Introduction to Language and Literature for pre-service. (Interview, 2004)

Anna's pathway had thus been one more familiar in international contexts, where it is the norm for teacher education to be located within the university and for graduate students to be co-opted into delivering parts of the teacher education programme. Her teaching background made her a likely candidate for teaching short courses, but even there her entry was still gradual and required her to prove her competence:

First offers were one or two classes, and I suppose I was good at it. So you get a chance to get better offers ... my first offer was one of "You can teach Communication Studies in this thing, and there are eleven of you ... and you can be one of the ones." It was like [that] across the whole university. And then you get things like: "Would you like to teach such and such?" And you would be the only teacher in it. There was an opportunity. It was an induction kind of process. And then somebody would go on leave, and you would get the offer of taking his entire course. (Interview, 2004)

This role served a dual purpose for Anna, as it provided a case study for her doctorate and used her previous teaching experience and skills. However, a desire to move more formally and permanently into a pre-service teacher education role was not foremost in her mind when she began, on completion of her doctorate to look for jobs "all over the place - some in schools". It was a "very scary time" of anxiety, where finding *a* job seemed more important than finding *the* job. While the other eight participants came to their teacher education positions from existing employment, Anna did not. At the time she applied for her teacher education position, another job back in a school was in the offing, a not unexpected

development given that she had spent considerable time relieving in the school sector while studying.

Anna's experience of being offered two jobs in quite different sectors at the same time presented a dilemma similar to that encountered by Sarah. But unlike Sarah, Anna's motivations came down to her notion of "I just thought it was fate." The concept is one that seemed to have a particular and idiosyncratic meaning for her, with its connotations of self-trust in a life decision that seems both uncertain yet right at the time. She explained the idea further in the context of previous career decisions:

Whatever happens has got to be like fate ... Why did I call teacher education fate? I guess it also says that I've been fluctuating between schools and outside schools for most of my life. Who knows [if I'd been offered the other job the day before whether I would have taken that one]? But it was a deliberate decision when you consider the deliberation of applying in the first place. It was deliberate, but sometimes there's more than one road you can take. (Interview, 2004)

Ultimately, the clinching factor had little to do with job preference or status. The decision was not just about choosing between positions or careers, but about something bigger and more fundamental to her as a person - the chance to return home to New Zealand, to choose a lifestyle and return to her 'culture', rather than just the career move itself.

Because the data-gathering for her doctorate had taken place in New Zealand, Anna's interest was deeply embedded in the community within which she had worked. Her initial motivation accordingly grew from a greater need - to reconnect with a culture she found more conducive and to come home.

They were *life* decisions for me. They weren't even about either of those things [jobs]. And the life decision for me was the opportunity to come back to New Zealand to work, which is what I thought I'd intended to do and still do intend, you know. ... So I don't think it was even teacher education as opposed to leadership within a school. It was about culture. (Interview, 2004)

Thus, for this group at least, their reasons for deciding to become teacher educators were complex and idiosyncratic mixtures of both push and pull factors. Their reasons for becoming mirrored many of the reasons identified as motivators in the international studies cited earlier in this chapter. With the exception of Anna, whose initial entry paralleled the

academic pathway common in the US, most of the group took the practitioner pathway, becoming teacher educators straight from their work as highly experienced teachers and middle managers in schools. Often the move felt unplanned. It was often seen as a temporary foray before a return to schools. It was for some the consequence of a serendipitous opportunity, or was sensed as ‘fate’. It may possibly have seemed a natural progression on the participants’ respective career paths, but more often their arrival into teacher education was the result of an intervention, or the sponsorship of a significant other person who helped or encouraged them see it as a viable possibility.

However, deciding to become, or to take on the job, was just the first step in ‘becoming’ as a matter of identity formation. Once appointed, how did they then experience ‘beoming’ a teacher educator through their induction and initial years of doing the job, as that identity became more clearly, and perhaps more consciously, formed?

First, and Lasting, Impressions: From Identity Shock to DIY¹⁹

The initial experience of doing teacher education is a powerful force in shaping the professional practice of teacher educators over their careers. (Dinkelman et al., 2001, p. 49)

The belief that educating teachers is something that is neither very complex nor requires much historical preparation endures in the popular consciousness and policy discourse relating to teacher education (Howey & Zimpher, 1999; Korthagen, Loughran, & Lunenberg, 2005; Zeichner, 2005). This belief seems to apply as much to those who enter teacher education via the practitioner pathway as to those who enter it via the academic pathway, and it may be a key reason for the lack of formal preparation and/or absence of effective induction processes that apparently characterises many teacher educators’ initial experience of the profession (Murray, 2005a). However, the research literature specific to this induction, and individual case studies from beginning teacher educators themselves, indicate that feelings and assumptions within the profession are quite otherwise. The professional discourse and research on teacher educators characterises the transition to becoming a teacher educator as difficult, gradual and marked by a significant amount of professional angst (Dinkelman et al., 2006; Guilfoyle et al., 1995; Russell & Chapman, 2002; Murray, 2005a, 2005b). It is, in fact,

¹⁹ DIY. An acronym for ‘do it yourself’, a cultural tendency for self-reliance, especially in things like home maintenance.

as Murray and Male (2005, p. 126) emphasise, a complex “transition that entails the learning of new social mores as a teacher educator and the creation of a new professional identity.”

Identity shock

A number of studies centred on the transition to becoming a teacher educator highlight the complexities of this passage and the often unacknowledged difficulties (Acker, 1997; Acker & Feuerwerker, 1996; Ducharme, 1993; Kremer-Hayon & Zuzovsky, 1995; Murray & Male, 2005; Wilson, 1990). All of these authors agree with Murray (2005a) that although the transition between school teaching and teacher education may look like a “small shift of occupation and setting to the casual observer of education, individuals often experience the change as challenging and stressful” (p. 5).

Several professional life histories written by teacher educators relate their respective authors’ entry into the profession and their processes of further becoming. Notable among these are the self-studies of the ‘Arizona Group’ (Guilfoyle, 1995; Guilfoyle et al., 1995; Guilfoyle, Hamilton, & Pinnegar, 1997) and of others (Kitchen, 2005; Dinkelman et al., 2006; Ritter, 2007; Sinkinson, 1997). Through an exploration of their individual and combined personal histories and experiences, the authors document and interpret their own experiences as “self-taught teachers of teachers” (Guilfoyle, Hamilton, Pinnegar & Placier, 1995 p. 52). Taken collectively, the stories present a process of gradual socialisation through personally difficult and uncertain times. While acknowledging some similarities to the experience of beginning school teaching, they emphasise more the differences. Most common among the latter are an awareness of the peculiar political tensions operating in higher education, the additional task expectations of reading and carrying out research, and the ever-present consciousness of the educators’ moral obligation to - and advocacy for - the “unseen children” (Guilfoyle Hamilton & Pinnegar, 1997, p. 184) who are the ultimate beneficiaries of their work.

As is the case in other such narratives or accounts, the authors discuss the lack of credibility and the initial discounting of their experiential expertise within the academy. They also explore their own growing consciousness of the value of their own experience or ‘authority of experience’ (Munby & Russell, 1994) and the way it played a critical role in their learning and development as teachers of teachers. For those who bring their identities as teachers as bridges into their new roles, this tension often precipitates a professional identity crisis (Dinkelman et al., 2006) as they struggle to mediate new social and professional roles, mores and norms within an unfamiliar institution.

Pinnegar (1995) talks of the “pervading sense of vulnerability and an uncertainty about what things mean and what to make of them” (p. 80) that accompanied her transition. She especially highlights her fear of making mistakes, or of appearing foolish, her sense of wariness, discomfort and vulnerability, as she tried to figure out the professional rules, codes and conventions of the academy, and, most of all, perhaps, as she tried to establish where her particular expertise ‘fitted’ in the value structure of things.

The one available New Zealand account of the challenges to teachers’ well-established teacher identity presented by the transition to teacher educator also highlights the “overriding feelings of inadequacy and powerlessness” involved (Whatman, 1997, p. 2). Whatman (pp. 11–12) itemises some of the practical differences between school teaching and being a teacher educator as:

There are new roles to be learnt and little formal recognition that these require new understandings, knowledge and skills. The individual must discard much of what was effective in teaching adolescents and adopt a different learning style and a much broader understanding of curriculum. They must be able to make explicit a philosophy of education, which they have probably seldom had to articulate. The rules of working with adult learners and the very complex skills and practice of modeling must be learnt and applied. The new lecturer must also become an effective researcher, who is able to contribute to a body of knowledge about learning and teaching.

Attempts to draw this and other individual accounts of the challenges that new teacher educators face ‘on first becoming’ into any kind of descriptive theory are rare, and even more rarely do they describe and conceive it in what I would call ‘professional identity’ terms. In one of the very few that do, Dinkelman and colleagues (2006, p. 6) note the lack of a readily available “theory of professional development to explain the transition [of teacher educators] from the classroom”. Dinkelman’s hybrid case-study/self-study collaboration with two beginning teacher educators categorises the fields for teacher educators’ professional ‘transition’ as a shifting of role identification, institutional context, frames of understanding and knowledge, support and development, and what he calls the practice arena, which include challenges of practice, modelling and advocacy (Dinkelman et al., 2006).

Induction

The professional, cultural and emotional difficulties that many teacher educators report

experiencing on becoming teacher educators is often attributed to the lack or inappropriateness of the formal induction that they received on entering the academy, and to the ongoing problem, as Loughran (2006) suggests, of the intense individualism and professional isolationism that characterises the normalised culture of the traditional academy. As Loughran also notes, this lack of guidance during teacher educators' transition to the role of academic means that, for many of them, shifts in understanding are individual and remain largely tacit.

There are numerous studies from several Western jurisdictions that advocate for more and better formalised induction processes to support new teacher educators (Buchberger, Campos, Kallos, & Stephenson, 2000; Murray, 2002, 2005a, 2005b; Murray & Male, 2005; Sinkinson, 1997; Wilson, 1990). Most of them agree with Whatman (1997, p. 21), that "the institution has a responsibility to support the new lecturer in this journey." At the policy level, Cochran-Smith (2003, p. 5) notes, "Despite the many expectations that US and other teacher educators around the world are striving to meet, there has been little attention to development of a curriculum for educating teacher educators, or to local and larger policies that might support the development of what teacher educators need to know and do in order to meet the complex demands of preparing teachers for the 21st century." Martinez (2008) is even more critical of the negligent attitude of institutions towards induction, where new academics are "treat[ed] ... as self-basting turkeys [who are left to] do it themselves" (p. 41).

The authors of other studies suggest that difficulties in transition are especially problematic for teacher educators on part-time or short-term contracts (Russell & Chapman, 2002) and for those with insufficient academic qualification or low personal and professional readiness for change (Sargent & Schlossberg 1988). Induction into higher education is often functional and compliance oriented rather than 'professional development' oriented (Murray, 2005a). It is too haphazard in form (Murray, 2005a), too narrow or limited (Sinkinson, 1997; Whatman, 1997) or too generic in focus for the specialised needs of teacher educators (Martinez, 2008; Murray & Male, 2005). Some authors even allege that it is absent (Guilfoyle et al., 1995). Indeed, as Korthagen, Loughran, and Lunenberg, (2005) claim, few teacher educators receive any formal preparation for teaching in their new context.

Some consensus is emerging, then, that what I have come to call 'identity shock' is a significant feature of most teacher educators' initial experience of teacher education, and that this situation is problematic mainly because of the inadequacy of many current institutional induction processes. As Whatman (1997, p. 12) expresses it, on becoming a teacher educator, "the individual must first of all appreciate that their new roles *are* different and that they will

have to endure a[nother] period of being a beginning teacher in a tertiary institution” (my emphasis).

Based on a recent and comprehensive synthesis of the literature on induction of new teacher educators and drawing on data from a small group of teacher educators from a small regional Australian university and her own lived experiences as an academic developer, Martinez (2008) proposes three ways to strengthen induction for all academics, including new teacher educators. She argues that academic induction in curriculum and pedagogy must recognise and build on what new academics bring; it needs, she says (p. 49) to better reflect “the lived experience of new academics juggling the demands of teaching, research, administrative and service components of their new work ... [and it needs to] be better informed by systematic and accurate information about career entry, its challenges, needs, assumptions and potential.” Martinez suggests that more research is needed into all aspects of academic induction, including into teacher education, along with “more sophisticated theorising of the processes involved” (p. 49).

Transition and induction as experienced by the teacher educators in the study

So, how did the teacher educators in my study experience *their* transition to teacher education as a matter of professional identity shock? And how did they respond to it as a matter of identity re-formation? Whatman’s (1997) representation of the transition to teacher educator as something to ‘endure’ is interesting, in that it tends to presuppose, as a number of transition tales do, that the teacher educators’ experiences and memories are predominantly accompanied by negative associations. However, this is not necessarily the case. If the teacher educators in this study are any indication, then, in respect of renegotiating, at the least, a professional identity, their accounts of experiencing transition could just as legitimately be described as a discourse of ‘meeting challenge’ or ‘taking agency’ as one of ‘enduring difference’. As Sinkinson (1997) notes, one’s response to the identity shock of transition can also be experienced as a “sharpening up of thinking”, a period where the chance to develop a clear philosophy and broaden one’s knowledge base, to keep up to date, and/or to progress professionally is embraced as a challenge rather than endured as a penance.

Despite their broad and deep experience and expertise as practising teachers, and, despite, for most of them, their relative initial confidence about what the job would entail and their ability to do it, this group also tended to describe the actual move and their first year or so in teacher education as a time of relative upheaval. The upheaval was characterised by a sometimes gradual, sometimes sudden realisation that the roles and work were in some

fundamental ways different from the roles and work they had engaged in either as school teachers or, in Anna's case, as a doctoral student.

For some of the participants, such as Ali, the tentative foundling, this realisation and sense of being upended was quite sudden:

I know when I came in I felt as if I had been turned upside down. I had the feeling for a long time, and I used to say it to the people in the school who would ask, "What's different?" I just felt as if my whole perspective changed ... as if someone had taken me and tipped me up the other way. (Interview, 2004)

Ali's metaphor highlights the destabilising impact of coming into a new role and of being off-kilter, upside down, on a roller coaster, and of having this experience accompanied by a feeling that the process was something over which she felt she initially had little control.

The other members of the group described the experience as similarly "bewildering", as Bella put it, and disorienting. Several talked of a sense of being 'thrown in the deep end', where everything familiar and routine was replaced by feelings of confusion and loss, of being out of one's depth, unclear about what they were doing or supposed to be doing and feeling let down when they realised that what they brought was neither enough nor valued.

I had had several years of higher study at that stage that had focused me very much on working with adults ... and then this paper on mentoring and teaching and learning, which I just loved, they were just fabulous. So I had had that start. That was a start, but then really no training as such, and no induction into the job whatsoever. No induction at all ... (Interview, Rachel, 2004)

Formal induction? What induction? There wasn't any. I was on my own from the start. I didn't know what I didn't know, so I guess that's how I survived. Now I do, and I shudder. (Personal email communication, 2004).

I don't think any of the [induction] PD has been overly helpful. ... I now know what is expected; I wish I had known earlier ... It was just chasing my tail initially. (Interview, Maggie, 2004)

So that first block was quite horrific, trying to get that all up and running, but certainly it is a lot more relaxed [now] because I know where I am going ... I wanted to go home to my little hole. The first three weeks. I couldn't stand it, to be really, really honest. It wasn't what was expected. (Interview, Bella, 2004)

Another factor that made adjustment difficult for the teacher educators in this study was their sense of isolation and their loss of support from friends, especially when they compared their new experience to the staffroom collegiality of the school environment. Rachel, recalling how she felt when she began in teacher education, said that what kept her going was her ongoing teaching of one class a week in her old school: “I was very isolated, and probably ... [that] I was teaching one class and I continued doing that ... I think that disguised the fact that it [her new position] was so lonely, so isolated”.

Isolation was an especially important issue for Maggie, who also realised that she was going to have to be proactive if she was to establish those all-important professional relationships.

It was [the] lack of support I found very difficult - it was my support friends at school who I really would spend time with. And getting used to the isolated nature of this [place]. And I was often having my lunch here in my office. Lunch! I thought, “No, that’s stupid. How am I going to meet people if I don’t go down and talk? So that was a very predictable transition phase, I think, even though I knew it was going to be like that ... But it’s over [now] ... and I’m feeling happier, and lots of people being very friendly. It’s not like I was isolated; it was just my perception of I didn’t know anybody. Friendships are very important to me ... (Interview, 2005)

Rachel, who began her teacher education career in a university rather than a college of education, also highlighted the problematic nature of coming to terms with a complex new role without appropriate support, and her predominant sense of feeling ‘ill-prepared’ by her previous experience.

I had moved from being the head of an English department ... to moving into school management, where I had started learning a whole new body of stuff about a different field, and then into teacher education, where I started realising that it was a vast, vast field, and being a sort of reasonably successful classroom teacher and a person who had enjoyed being an associate teacher was a totally inadequate preparation for the role ... At first, it gave me confidence to do it, but in fact it was really inadequate. (Interview, 2004)

For Rachel, the lack of formal induction complicated the process of coming into a new role in an institution that she felt valued completely different skills and knowledges from her

own. It presented her with an unsettling challenge. Her breadth - an advantage in her school - felt like a liability in a university environment, further exacerbating her feelings of inadequacy. She described initially feeling a confidence born of experience in her numerous school roles, only to have this feeling squashed by the realisation that her expertise simply did not count in the new institution. Moreover, most of the faculty with whom she worked were only marginally involved in teacher education, if at all, and were interested even less. They did not view teacher education as core business and had little understanding of the enterprise. These attitudes increased her sense of professional isolation and uncertainty. She remembered feeling overwhelmed with the ‘vastness’ of the new field she was entering.

Anna also dismissed the concept of formal induction with a laugh - “You’ve got to be joking!” However, for her, its absence was less problematic than it was for others of the group. She saw herself as having been ‘inducted’ or socialised into the academic culture through her time as a part-time lecturer and tutor during her PhD study. The challenges of coming into her current New Zealand role related more to the cultural ‘surprises’ that accompanied her change from a university to a college of education, than to the more intensely personal identity ‘shock’ felt by some of the others. The surprises included coming to terms with *not* having mass lectures but teaching small classes. Her differences were things that made her feel special. Despite being ‘home’, in the sense of being back in New Zealand, she felt the cultural differences. She used the concept of “morning tea in the staffroom” as a metaphor for these and all that they implied. They were redolent, she said, of a rather cosier, “old-fashioned” and more community-oriented secondary school environment, unlike that of the university she had just left, where the size of the institution and the layout of its campus militated against the existence of a centralised staffroom.

There was no such thing there. No staffroom. There was a sort of grubby little kitchen we had in the faculty ... There was a fantastic coffee bar up on the sixth floor for students and staff. It wasn’t one or other, and it had views overlooking the city, which was stunning. But you had to buy your coffee ... returning was a shock because it was like going back to a secondary classroom. (Interview, 2004)

Although Anna found the transition more a surprise than a shock, there was, even for her, and as for the others, a strong sense that she had come to somewhere that was different from what she was used to. In her case, the core business of the new institution was teacher education, as opposed to a broader university education, of which teacher education was only

a small part. For the others, coming directly from schools, the sense of change in role was much greater, especially in terms of its emphasis on teaching adults rather than children, its focus on pedagogy and pedagogical content knowledge rather than on discipline content, its broadening out into other areas of educational knowledge, and its apparent *lack* of collegiality.

As has been hinted at already, one key contributor to the participants' common feelings of bewilderment and uncertainty was the perceived inadequacy of the formal institutional induction they had received, either from the colleges of education or from the universities. For several members of the group, formal induction processes - if, indeed, there were any - tended to be informal, haphazard, or inconsistent or, indeed, all three. As Murray (2005a) found in her UK study, most of these processes were functional rather than professional in purpose, offering little beyond a brief orientation to the institution's geography and administrative and academic functions and processes. One other colleague, not one of the group, described induction as "a tour of the car parks and toilets". At her most litotic, Bella described it as a "tricky business". She was more hyperbolic and less tactful on another occasion.

The formal induction, I guess, is *absolutely* hopeless. It was worse than hopeless - it was actively bewildering. We had layer on layer of "This is the policy that we threw together ... Yes, this is the policy, and this is what you must do, and please highlight these things," and sheets and sheets and sheets with dazzling speed. ... Ghastly. But the real induction happened in the 'doing', as it must. (Interview, 2004)

Several others of the group, such as Ali, talked of formal induction processes that were more professionally useful, especially when they extended into areas relating to pedagogy and andragogy. These, the group members explained, were more valuable in terms of helping them come to terms with their new roles and identities. As Ali said:

I found it really useful doing the course on adult learning because it is different to the way adolescents learn ... It was a two-day course. Not much ... I think it was expected that we had to do it, but I'm not sure everyone did! [But] I found it very valuable. (Interview, 2004)

Few members of the group had access to this kind of professional induction, however. Whether it was available depended greatly on the historical point in time that they entered

teacher education. Where such courses or processes were available, they were only brief, and most of the new educators resisted studying towards optional qualifications such as certificates in adult education. Ironically, the reason they gave was that they were ‘too busy’ coming to terms with the more urgent need of producing and delivering new courses and dealing with teaching loads every bit as heavy as those they had in schools - in some cases, they were even heavier.

For most, then, their formal institutional induction was patchy, often poorly-timed, frequently limited in focus, and not sufficiently tailored to their individual needs as fledgling teacher educators. For several, professional induction was effectively non-existent. This factor became another one that contributed to their feelings of uncertainty, inadequacy and isolation, and may well have slowed their forging of a new professional identity.

Despite the inadequacy of induction at a ‘macro’ institutional level, there were aspects of their first year’s experience that had a significant positive impact on helping them come to grips with their new role. For most, it was the *informal, ad hoc* ‘induction’ at a ‘micro’ level within departments or amidst small teams of colleagues that made the difference as they began learning to be teacher educators. This induction relied heavily on the formation of positive relationships with one, or at most two, key individuals. Unsurprisingly, these individuals tended to come from the same curriculum or professional practice department, rather than from the wider college community.

Bella, Ali and Maggie, for example, all highlighted the major influence of one particular curriculum colleague in shaping their initial understandings of their new role. In each case, this relationship was informal and purely voluntary, involving the self-appointed mentor in sharing their experiences, their resources and their teaching pedagogies and practices. These mentors also made themselves available for joint planning and ongoing professional dialogue, often adopting the role of critical friend. In some cases, this experience also involved voluntary team teaching or opportunities to observe teaching in action so as to acculturate the new colleague and help them ease their way into the new role. For Ali, “going to X’s classes - that was my first vital influence - the opportunity to have that sort of modelling and the chance for some collaborative teaching”.

Clearly, all this involved a considerable amount of extra but willingly given time on both parts. The importance of having teaching pedagogies modelled in action, and the value of being able to reflect on what was being observed and experienced, played a critical role in extending Ali’s thinking beyond a transmission model.

That [co-teaching] was really good. Otherwise I think I would have gone in more as the expert. I would have found it hard to get rid of that model that I was used to having ... I had to begin to think, it wasn't enough to say, "This is what I do, this is how I teach this." ... I think I would have thought, "Well, I am going to do some group work with this or I am going to encourage them to bring their ideas out." But I didn't get into the theoretical underpinning or the more *why* am I doing it this way? ... Now I can say, "Well, yes, we *do* have to give them that wealth of the different perspectives, the different approaches, so that they have the ability to be able to pick and choose the things that they can work with their classes, rather than bury them under the constraints of time." (Interview, 2004)

These collegial co-teaching and modelling experiences offered Ali the chance to think beyond the pragmatic and complex automaticity of classroom decision-making that characterised her teaching in a school environment. Modelling and observation, she said, along with collaborative planning and teaching, enabled her to begin theorising, more readily, her previously unarticulated and unconscious practices and to recognise the different pedagogical emphases and purposes inherent in them. These practices opened up other avenues for consideration; they prevented her coming in as the 'expert'.

Bella also acknowledged the powerful impact that collaboration and team-teaching had on her growing confidence during her early days. In fact, she argued, these practices should be an essential aspect of the professional learning to become a teacher educator.

My real induction was L, of course, and the modelling that L did for me. It was super because ... we shared a class for the first term we taught, and that was just brilliant; couldn't have been better. That was so excellent to be able to just be collaborative. That must be absolutely part of everybody's experience, I would think, if they are half like me ... I was paired with a wonderful person who also had a humanity as well as vast experience, and all of that worked very well for me. (Interview, 2004)

Maggie experienced one-on-one individual support and mentoring through intensive professional dialogue and the sharing of planning journals and resources rather than through co-teaching. At the core of this experience was her sense of being both supported, as well as trusted to get on with things independently. As her confidence and familiarity grew, she valued the opportunity to be able to run with things on her own.

PD for me has probably been working with A, and that has been superb. You couldn't get a nicer person to work with. I think, and this suits my personality, pretty much I feel I have been left to run with it, and that's good because there aren't too many people looking over my shoulder ... we had hours of meetings, and she talked me through her ways of doing things and some of the ways that you do things, so I felt that I had a good guideline when I started. [She] photocopied her daily way of doing things, her exercise book, which I probably followed quite well in the first block of the course. But as your confidence gains, you look at the way you do your own thing as well. (Interview, 2004)

While acknowledging the value of an empowering mentor and supportive colleagues, Maggie also relished the opportunity she was given to be proactive on her own behalf. She saw her role as making a difference not just to the students but also to the overall functioning of the programme. Jane, too, mentioned the crucial part played by a colleague in her induction, despite the fact that, at that stage, she did not see teacher education as a long-term career move. Nor did she see herself as yet having fully taken on a *new* professional identity.

S and I were doing ESOL together, not in the same class ... we used to talk all the time about what he was doing because I didn't have a clue, you know, in terms of assessment, so I just did his assignments really with my class, and that seemed fine ... I think we did a really good job ... but that's because I never problematised it ... In my head, I was still a classroom teacher, in my head. I never saw this as a career move in that first year.

One of the themes emerging from all these stories is the quality of the informal mentor relationship that, to different degrees for different people, enabled highly experienced and expert schoolteachers to take the risk of being novices and learners as teacher educators, and to come to grips with their identity shock. Not all reported such collegiality in their transition experience, but most did, and these collegial relationships made a huge difference not just to their social transitions into the institution but also to their professional transition and development.

Their ongoing professional development

Apart from initial formal induction and informal ongoing mentoring, continuing PD opportunities facilitate ongoing professional learning and growth in any new profession. In their study of the longer-term PD experiences of eight teacher educators, Kremer-Hayon and

Zuzovsky (1995) identified their emerging PD concerns as the development of a professional knowledge; instructional dilemmas; ideological concerns; and increasing self-confidence and personal development. They also noted a number of developmental trends in teacher educators' professional learning, especially an expansion into broader academic interests, and movements from dependence to independence and from formalism towards practicality. While there are some parallels in terms of the expressed ongoing PD concerns of the teacher educators in the study, especially in relation to increased confidence and acquiring broader academic interests, their post-induction voyage was characterised much less by instructional or ideological concerns than by a movement from practicality towards formalism, and not the other way round.

All but one member of the group described their *ongoing* PD (after their initial entry and induction stage) as a teacher educator as being largely self-generated and largely external to their institution. Their identity development over time had come not so much through institutional structures or support, or formalized mentoring from within, as through their own individual agency. Several of the participants described the longer-term process of growing into the role as having been hindered by lack of mentoring, of being 'left to get on with it', and often lacking an explicit theoretical rationale for the discipline of teacher education itself. This was variously in expressions like: "In other words, you are doing it for yourself and others, rather than actually having opportunities for you, apart from conferences.", "I had to do it myself, really; it was kind of chance, really", and "[I asked myself] what's this teacher education stuff all about? How is this going to be different *for me*?"

For most of the group, too, being the only person working in their specialist curriculum area meant they had not been part of a team teaching the same courses, a factor Murray (2002, 2008) identifies as a positive developmental experience for teacher educators in the UK.

When considering what worked for them in respect of professional learning, the members of the group identified self-directed academic reading. Dan's focus was literary texts; Rachel's a burgeoning "interest in the theoretical underpinnings of what we are doing." Her "major PD", she said, had come from her own study. Accordingly, her academic interests and doctoral study, with its associated reading, had been a major wellspring for her ongoing learning. She also identified opportunities for "professional learning conversations" with others as highly desirable and effective, but said they tended to be ad hoc. Overall, however, "the expectation is that it's up to you to do your own reading, to do it ... the expectation is

that you get out there and do it for yourself, but there's little collegiality or sharing." All reported that the opportunities for such conversations within their institutions had historically been infrequent and even non-existent.

For Rachel, the opportunity to attend conferences focused more generally on teacher education rather than on curriculum discipline was also "hugely valuable [in] concretising what I knew ... being able to sit back and discuss with colleagues was hugely important here, having conferences at that level of thinking ... talking about the theories and the understandings and then the ways that we would be helping people achieve those understandings." However, attending such conferences as TEFANZ (Teacher Education Forum of Aotearoa New Zealand) was not an opportunity the others had pursued at the time of writing, because the conferences often took place during busy teaching blocks.

In summary, then, most of the group noted that their most common source of ongoing professional learning and identity formation was external to the institution, tended to focus on their curriculum subject area, and clustered around existing but 'outside' communities of practice. Several of the participants commented that their pre-existing regional and national curriculum affiliations stayed intact, and were a mainstay of their ongoing PD and personal support as they developed their abilities as teacher educators. They reported, though, that their employing institutions provided little or no formal opportunities for learning their particular profession. What had been provided, and increasingly so since the mergers, was (some) formal support in regard to developing empirical research skills.

Perhaps, unsurprisingly, pre-existing curriculum loyalties continued to influence the group members' identity as teacher educators. This situation arguably delayed their transition into their new roles, slowing their acquisition of new identities as part of their "legitimate peripheral participation" (Lave & Wenger, 1991) of new communities. The teacher educators themselves, however, did not see it that way. Dan spoke for them all when he expressed his frustration: "The universities don't seem to regard that as part of their responsibility ... they don't look at teacher educators, even teachers either, as having needs that they could meet".

Indeed, for some of the group, the seeming dearth of meaningful *teacher education*-focused PD within their own institutions provided them with the catalyst to provide this type of PD for their colleagues, especially when they found themselves in leadership roles. Rachel, Jane and Anna all described their particular efforts in this direction and of, as Jane put it, "trying to organise for my colleagues and the team the ongoing professional development we need".

Over the years of this research, all remaining stand-alone colleges of education amalgamated with their local universities. As a result, all the teacher educators in the study commented that the major focus for all subsequent institutionally generated PD immediately before and since the mergers had focused on creating research profiles and portfolios, and on generating research outputs. Little, if any, had been directed towards what most still conceptualised as their core roles - teaching and the pedagogy of teacher education, and leaders of and contributors to the broader 'profession'.

Conclusion: The Journey of Constant Becoming

This chapter focused on the reasons why the participants became teacher educators, the impact of their 'first contacts' with the job, and the journey of constant becoming that they said characterised their eventual development of an identity as a teacher educator. For the teacher educators, the journey towards identity was one of 'becoming' in terms of the initial decision to migrate to a new career, and one of 'becoming' as a response to the 'identity shock' they all experienced on arrival in their new institutions.

Variations in national and historical contexts clearly influence career pathways into teacher education. Neither the kind of drifting into teacher education via the academy described by Zeichner (2005) nor the deliberate career-shifting into it through doctoral study described by Acker (1997) has historically been the norm in New Zealand, and nor were these paths the norm among the group studied. All but one of the teacher educators in the study entered teacher education from their school classrooms, with little or no formal preparation or qualification to do the job, and all but one came through the 'practitioner pathway'.

Bella's metaphor of "seekers and foundlings" offers an original if simplistic binary about the group's motivations and aspirations in relation to becoming. While only one of them could be said to have become a teacher educator as the result of long term career pre-planning, the idea that the job was a worthwhile one and that it offered a career-move 'option' was in the back of others' minds. Some saw their entry to teacher education as a permanent career move; others as a stopgap before moving on to something else. But all saw the move as a career 'promotion' in some way. More numerous among the group were the foundlings. Here, there were elements of coming into teacher education almost accidentally, through what Wimmer (2003) calls 'serendipity', or of coming to it through a part-time or 'taster' route. This route was more often than not accompanied by the active encouragement, sponsorship or 'shoulder-tapping' of respected others already in the profession.

For the whole group, there was also a mix of push and pull factors. Pull factors were the attractants, such as the feeling that, as teacher educators, they could ‘make a difference’, or ‘give back’ to “unseen children” (Guilfoyle et al., 1995, p. 184). The push factors were those aspects of school life that stimulated a feeling that it was time to seek ‘greener pastures’ - to ‘move on, move up, move out’.

Above all, perhaps, and even though they came to recognise the limitations of their school teaching experience as a sufficient preparation for teacher education, the nine teacher educators nevertheless took its necessity as a given. Even Anna, with her doctorate, questioned school teaching’s inherent ‘authority’ as the best measure of a teacher educator’s qualification to become. The educators, were, in short, ‘teachers on the move’ rather than ‘professors in the making’.

Three key ‘realisations’ emerged from the educators’ accounts of their eventual development of an identity once they had ‘become’. The first of these was the sense that becoming a teacher educator is a matter of ‘identity shock’. Sooner or later (and usually sooner) after first becoming a teacher educator, one is faced with having to redefine both one’s professional world and one’s particular place in it, and with the fact that such a redefinition is not going to be achieved comfortably.

Second, the participants felt that neither prior experience of school teaching, nor achievement of academic qualifications, nor the formal induction and PD provided by the academy was, in itself, adequate foundation for such a re-identification process. When speaking of their induction, in particular, the group members told a common story: the most powerful forms of professional learning they experienced seldom related to formal institutional support. Instead, the *informal, ad hoc* support of one or two immediate colleagues, the ‘significant others’ who involved them in joint planning, resource sharing, and team teaching, was the critical factor, especially in those early days. In short, all nine participants received neither an induction nor a PD programme that was about building their ‘professional identity’.

The third ‘realisation’ was that the process of (re-)negotiating a professional identity involves a significant amount of taking agency. Despite the somewhat ‘ad hoc’ influence of ‘significant others’, the narratives of the group members’ eventual development of a new professional identity were more remarkable as stories of informally mentored self-help than as stories of scaffolded institutional socialisation. The group found that, above all, the need to be developmentally *proactive* if they were to overcome the ‘identity shock’ of that initial transition. This proactivity, moreover, was not just a matter of being prepared to ask for help

when needed; nor was it simply a matter of making the effort to professionally socialise themselves. It was, most importantly, a matter of learning fundamentally from, and valuing, the authority of their own experience.

Ultimately, becoming a teacher educator was something the teacher educators felt neither sufficiently 'prepared for' by their previous occupational experiences, nor effectively 'inducted into' by their institutions. It was something they had largely achieved 'by themselves', and 'by doing'.

INTERLUDE: ON DOING TEACHER EDUCATION

Picture this scene....

“As I noted, I couldn’t follow your thinking - here ... and here ... and here, John.”

Bending forward a little, she indicated the places on his assignment. “Do you recall from our class discussions about the need to break down teaching sequences into much smaller steps and ensure there is explicit scaffolding? The kids need to be clear on success criteria. Can you talk me through what you have in mind here? Explain your thinking in more detail?”

John stared at her blankly, still failing to understand the problem. “Why do I need all that detail in my lesson plans? I know what I want them to do.”

Inwardly, she sighed. Yes, but no-one else does, she thought. Just as well he was in the minority, as he was taking up more time than she could spare right now. But it was important to get that break-through. Kids in schools...

The phone rang.

Damn, she thought, I should have left it off the hook, but she knew she couldn’t. She was expecting a call from a principal with whom she had been playing phone tag for two days.

“Excuse me a moment, John.” She smiled at the student, turned from her discussion about his resubmit back towards her desk, and picked up the phone.

“Oh, yes, hi Neil. No, sorry, I was expecting a call from the ministry about that ... Yes, of course. Can I call you back? Oh... Okay, but I only have a minute, as I have someone with me right now.” Just what she didn’t need in the middle of teaching block - more work.

She turned back to the student, “John, do you mind waiting outside for a minute? I really need to take this - shouldn’t be a minute.” A wry-smile, eyebrows-raised in apology. It was the second time that morning she had been interrupted like this, and it wasn’t even nine a.m. “I’ll only be a second, promise!”

“Yes, look, I’ll try my best to get it to you for the meeting, but I can’t promise anything till Friday at the very earliest ... Well, I’m teaching all day - ten to twelve and one to five p.m. today, sorry. No - six hours again tomorrow and four on Thursday, then another department meeting. No, I can’t - we need to finish off the new course outline in order to get it to the board of studies for Thursday ...”

She listened with half an ear, mentally going through her checklist for the rest of the day: resources ready, including the video clips, computer dongle, pens, cartridge paper... post-its for the group activities, OHT pens and overheads for report backs. Mustn’t forget the book trolley so they can change novels, or the other printing. Did I give them those articles yesterday or not or was that the other majors? Damn, damn!

“Mmmm. Sure, not a problem. I’ll do my best. See you then.”

‘Who knows when I’ll get that article off now’ went through her head as she hung up. Or the agenda for Tuesday. A deep breath, during which she rearranged her face into neutral and then into a smile and stood up the door.

“Sorry about that, John. Now where were we?”

CHAPTER 5. ON DOING TEACHER EDUCATION

Introduction: Teacher Education as Professional Activity

This chapter explores teacher educators' professional identity through the lens of the work that they actually do. If our professional motivations and expectations are part of professional identity so, too, are our perceptions of the scope of the job. Our view of what our job consists of, and what, as a set of professional activities, we would like it to consist of, helps us to frame our professional identity. At some point, then, every discussion of the professional identity of teacher educators must address the issue of what it is that teacher educators *do*. This chapter describes the professional activities undertaken by the teacher educators who participated in this study and draws from their 'job descriptions' some themes relating to how they have experienced 'doing' teacher education. What did they see as constituting their work or job? What tasks and roles did they carry out and what aspects of these tasks and roles attracted the most time, energy, interest and priority? And how did this contribute to their sense of professional identity?

Less than two decades ago, the answer to the question of what, exactly, New Zealand pre-service teacher educators *do* would likely have elicited a fairly narrow response - 'teaching and service', or some variation on Lewis's statement that "When I first started, all I had to do was teach courses, attend meetings and visit some students on section [practicum]. Anything else was considered 'above load'". Moreover, the responder's definition of service, in particular, would probably have connoted a rather different range of professional activities in the New Zealand context from that applying in other jurisdictions at the time.

Less than two decades ago, describing the job of the pre-service teacher educator in a typical one-year graduate diploma programme might have seemed relatively clear-cut. The work would most likely have taken place in a college of education and been based on an academic year identical to that of schools of around 40 'teaching' weeks. It would have involved a teaching load of about 16 to 18 hours a week over teaching blocks of five to eight weeks, commensurate with, or even, in some cases, more than the teaching load of a middle manager or head of department (HOD) in a large high school. In between these intensive teaching blocks, it probably involved at least three to four weeks, three or four times a year, of intensive supervision of student teachers on practicum in schools, both local and out of town. Teaching-related functions would have included administration, lesson planning and preparation, assessment, profile writing, and the like, as well as other internal service roles

involving several meetings and committee work on a weekly or monthly basis. For some educators, it might also have involved externally focussed service activities such as providing policy advice to Ministry of Education or New Zealand Qualifications Authority advisory groups, or professional development opportunities for teachers. Most of the latter work would have been a result of the individual's high community credibility and would likely have been done voluntarily 'above load' rather than as a requirement of his or her job description.

In more recent years, defining what the New Zealand teacher educator does has become less clear-cut, more complex. The ex-academy history of teacher education in New Zealand, its location until recently in specialist institutions, its relatively expansive funding regimen, and long-standing loyalties to and intimate connection with the school sector, have had, and still have, an enormous impact on how the teacher educator role has been shaped and conceptualised. But the current relocation of teacher education within the university has been leading to different, more contested and more expansive conceptualisations of the role, and to significant changes in the way teacher educators perceive the nature, emphasis and focus of their work. These changes have involved redefining, indeed significantly expanding, their sense of what the legitimate scope of their 'work' is, and thus reframing elements of their professional identities.

As I noted in the chapter on *becoming* a teacher educator, one important and typical experience shared by all participants in this study on entry to pre-service teacher education was their common background in secondary teaching or, more particularly, in teaching the curriculum specialism of English. What got them the job, in essence, was their capability, experience and reputation as exemplary teachers in that and related fields. Most still share this subject discipline allegiance, and still teach at least some courses related to it. But there the similarities among their current job descriptions tend to end. The data in this chapter are based on a snapshot of the actual work that each was doing at the time of writing. However, as will emerge, their roles and their work patterns have been not only far from the same as one another's, but also far from static over time. Even once they had established themselves as teacher educators, they still saw themselves as professionally 'on the move'.

A recurrent theme in the literature is the difficulty of delimiting and defining who teacher educators are (Houston, Haberman, & Sikula, 1990). However, internationally, few researchers have empirically investigated what teacher educators actually do and what their job is composed of or looks like as a set of professional actions, and there seems to be significant variation in what the job actually consists of across national borders. Also, the emerging role of classroom teachers as field-based teacher educators and a

reprofessionalising agenda within the academy appear to have further muddled the waters (Sikula, Buttery & Guyton, 1996).

The difficulties relating to definition are exemplified, in part, by Ducharme (1993, p. 6), who from an American perspective defines teacher educators as those who “do the work of teacher educators... [that is,] who hold tenure line positions in teacher preparation in higher education institutions, teach beginning and advanced students in teacher education, and conduct research or engage in scholarly studies germane to teacher education.” Little else in the study differentiates “the work of teacher educators” from the work of other academics, or goes beyond what Ducharme outlines as the traditional triad of academic life: teaching, scholarship/research, and administration or ‘service’.

Ducharme and Ducharme (1996), drawing on the faculty portions of the comprehensive annual RATE studies of teacher preparation from 1987 to 1994, offer a more detailed breakdown of the types of work and time spent proportionally on different aspects of teacher education. Different decisions in different institutions as to how teacher educators should apportion their time suggest different constraints and demands placed on individuals and the actual priorities of the professional life. Significant diversity in the US in how teacher education faculty use their time depended on institution type, areas of specialisation or concentration within the teacher education field, and individual demographic characteristics such as seniority, qualifications and gender. On average, though, the times faculty spent on the traditional divisions of academic life: *teaching* (and teaching-related activities, including preparation and advising), *scholarship* (including research), and *service* (which the authors describe as “administrative studies”), showed the following divisions: 60% of time on teaching-related activities, less than 20% on scholarship, and a little more than 20% on administrative service activities.

These terms, however, are problematic. The tacit cultural meanings attached to them make it difficult to unpack exactly what kind of professional activity each encompasses. Within the traditional triad, Ducharme’s original discussion of ‘scholarship’ seems to include research, but this is assumed rather than specified, and the two terms seem to be used interchangeably. An early RATE study used the term ‘scholarship’ but this is replaced by ‘research’ as a category in the later studies. Nor is what constitutes ‘teaching and teaching-related activities’ clear-cut, although it seems to include a mix of planning and reviewing student work, delivering lessons in classrooms and advising students.

From 1988 on, the RATE studies expanded the traditional triad, first to a six-category system (advising, teaching, scholarship, administration, course preparation, community

service) and then to an eight-category one (preparation for class, teaching undergraduates, research, administration, advising, committees, teaching graduate students, in-service) (Sikula, Buttery, & Guyton, 1996). These lists clearly propose differentiations within broadly similar categories, the only new one being the inclusion of in-service work with experienced teachers. Other anomalies exist, for example, in the names given to similar activities. Where field supervision belongs is unclear, because the supervision of student teachers on practicum often appears allocated to non-tenure-line, part-time staff, who may or may not 'count' as teacher educators. A particular difficulty seems to apply in relation to the term service, which appears to be interchangeable with administration and committee work for most, and seldom includes work with schools and in schools (AACTE, RATE VI, 1992).

In their study of teacher educators in an Australian jurisdiction, where teacher education has had a rather different history from that of the continental USA, Turney and Wright (1990) take an expansive view of the job, highlighting both the complexities of the within-institution roles involved, and the additional activity created by professional interactions with external agencies:

Teacher educators are today expected to carry out a number of important and demanding roles or functions. These expectations are largely derived from institutions and groups with which their work is closely associated - school systems, tertiary institutions, programme administrators, professional colleagues, teachers and student teachers, to mention the main ones. (p. 31)

In addition to the three broad areas identified by Ducharme - teaching, scholarship/research, and administrative service - Turney and Wright (1990) claim that two other key categories of tasks differentiate teacher education. These are the professional supervision/mentoring of students on practicum, and a composite role involving professional innovation and course development. The authors identify four factors that complicate definitions of the various tasks and that may give rise to tension and conflict in relation to teacher educators' professional identity. These are:

- The kind of tertiary institution in which teacher educators work;
- Role perception, including marked differences in the expectations and work of various specialist groups of education staff;
- The theoretical base of operation - teacher educators' actual performance of their roles as shaped by their often implicit theories of teacher education; and

- The complex nature of client groups, requiring the need to adapt roles, especially when the job of teacher education spans more than one of pre-service training, professional induction and in-service.

In another US study of three institutions, Gideonse (1989) argues that investigating how faculty use their time is one way of understanding institutional ethos. Despite methodological cautions around timing and sampling, the study of 22 cases reports the wide range of hours and tasks that characterise the teacher education job. Time spent ranged from 42.1 to 88 hours per week (averaging out at 57.2 hours per week). When setting down the tasks performed by the teacher educators in his study, Gideonse argues that Ducharme's broad categories ultimately disguise more than they evoke about the complexity and variety of tasks undertaken by individual teacher educators. Gideonse's breakdown of faculty tasks consists of five categories - instruction, scholarship, advising, service, and administration/governance. Like Ducharme, he conflates scholarship and research, but unlike Ducharme, he separates administration from service. These five categories are an aggregation of 14 original ones. The inclusion of 'professional associations' within the service category, along with 'schools' and 'other agencies', indicates a wider, extra-institutional-focused concept of service.

Thus, underlying the rather generic descriptions of the teacher education job as outlined or assumed in much of the literature is a fundamental problem of task definition and identification that has been little problematised, but which is nevertheless central to individual teacher educator's perceptions of themselves as professional agents. Teacher educators' evolving beliefs and understandings about who 'counts' as a teacher educator, and what it is that they *do* that might or might not differentiate them as either 'academics' or as 'professionals', are fundamental aspects of teacher educators' professional identity.

The Academic Triad: Teaching, Research, Service

In contrast to Gideonse (1989) and Turney and Wright (1990), who suggest relatively expansive lists of activity, most authors of teacher education literature implicitly follow Ducharme in arguing that teacher educators are essentially engaged in a triad of key tasks - those associated with teaching, those associated with doing scholarly work, (especially research), and those associated with administrative or managerial 'service' within the academy.

Teaching: the ‘given’

Most studies about the work of teacher educators have traditionally assumed that teaching is at the core of their work and hence is unproblematic as a matter of identity. Teaching is the big given, or the ‘heart of the matter’ (Cole, Elijah, & Knowles, 1998) in a teacher educator’s job description, and it is likely that teacher educators’ prior experience in schools perpetuates the assumption that it will be the major component. Indeed, the findings of a number of studies suggest that the majority of teacher educators view teaching and related tasks as the main priority in their work (Yarger, Howey, & Joyce, 1977). They assign a higher value to teaching-related activities than to other activities in their job descriptions (Nystrom, King, & Wimpelberg, 1984), and are more likely to spend time on teaching-related tasks (teaching, advising, and supervising field experiences) if they are teaching in Bachelor’s or Master’s accrediting institutions (Ducharme & Kluender, 1990) or on teaching and service tasks if they are women (Ducharme, 1993; Ducharme & Agne, 1982).

Debates within teacher education about teaching in the context of the academy hardly ever question the inviolability of teaching as the primary focus of the job. Rather, these internal debates relate more to the best ways of ‘doing the job’, by critiquing, arguing for, or developing a valid pedagogy of teacher education (Korthagen, 2004; Loughran, 2006), by comparing the conceptual orientations of teacher education programmes (Feiman-Nemser, 1990; Zeichner, 1993), or by accounts of individuals’ attempts to match their theory of teaching with their practices as a teacher educator (Allender, 2001; Brandenburg, 2008; Samaras, 2002).

Research: reconceptualising what ‘counts’

[Research is the] coin of the realm for university scholars. (Acker & Feuerwerker, 1996, (n.p.)

The orchestra is all playing research, but I want to keep the sound of teaching coming through. (Interview, Ali, 2008)

While the literature regularly makes references to the perceived importance of research as a gauge of academic excellence (Cole, 2000; Cole, & Sumison, 2000a, 200b; Reynolds, McCullough, Bendixen-Noe, & Morrow, 1994), and in some cases challenges that perceived importance (Clark, 1994; Grogono, 1994), Ducharme and Ducharme (1996b) report a lack of clarity and perceived value in the academy about both the amount and kinds of research and publishing that teacher education faculty do. The now rather outdated information in the

RATE studies (AACTE, 1988 to 1994) about the research outputs of education faculty seem to show that while teacher education faculty publish as much as other faculty areas, there has also been some critique of the quality of much of this research (Howey & Zimpher, 1990). Emerging from the RATE studies, too, is a suggestion that younger academic staff members are publishing more quickly and are likely to surpass the output and quality of the work produced by their older colleagues (see also Acker, 1997). Ducharme and Agne (1989) posit that younger staff may be increasingly entering the profession with a predisposition towards scholarship. The authors also note that fewer of the latter bring with them the level of experience of teaching in schools that their older colleagues had. Boyer (1990), in his national study of higher education faculty across disciplines, also found age-related differences in perceptions about the impact of the pressure to publish on reducing teaching quality.

More recent studies suggest that a “near-universal desire within the academy to have more time for scholarship” (Ducharme & Ducharme, 1996, p. 65) continues to create significant occupational tensions among teacher educators in particular (Goodlad, 1990). Court and Kramarski (2002) identify three different orientations or responses that teacher educators show in the light of such tensions: they see research as an integral part of teachers’ professional knowledge and/or practice (the ‘practical’ orientation); they see research as belonging to academia (the ‘theoretical/practical’ orientation); and they see the world of teachers as critical and even hostile to research (the ‘critical’ orientation).

The research discussed so far relates to the context of university-located teacher education programmes, where scholarly and research activity is generally accepted as the institution’s core business. However, until relatively recently, teacher educators in New Zealand have been more prolific consumers than producers of research. Most teacher educators in New Zealand gained their positions before the recent mergers between universities and the colleges of education, when research was not a significant part of a teacher educator’s job description, if it was a part at all. They have therefore lived their professional lives as teacher educators through a period in which the economic rationalism and neo-liberal policy reformism of the late 1990s has, of necessity, expanded the occupational discourses of teacher education. Most obviously, this expanded occupational discourse has meant that all of the teachers educators who are the subject of this study are currently under pressure to demonstrate the kind of research capacity and credibility that was hitherto the preserve of their academic cousins in the ‘education departments’ of the universities they have joined.

Internationally, the debate about research as part of the job of teacher educators has not focused solely on how much of it is done and how much professional time it should occupy compared to other activities. It has also involved deeply paradigmatic discussions about the types of research that are appropriate, or even legitimate. For example, for a time at the turn of the century in New Zealand, two ‘official’ definitions of research coexisted, if somewhat uncomfortably, in the educational policy discourse. One positioned research as empirical knowledge creation in the traditional academic sense. The other, articulated and given some political ‘authority’ by the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA), defined research as including all of “basic or fundamental research; strategic research; *applied research; scholarship and creative work*” (NZQA, 1998, italics my emphasis). Teacher educators tended to see the NZQA definition as legitimising creative and applied research, such as action research, and as making activities such as professional practice and consultancy indicators of legitimate research activity. For many in teacher education, this understanding suited and affirmed the direct link between teaching and research - a link that they saw as fundamental to their work.

The introduction of performance-based research funding (PBRF) for universities in 2003 has since led to a tightening, if not an overturning, of the broader NZQA definitions of research that appealed to practice-oriented disciplines such as teacher education, and the re-privileging of the more traditional academic definitions. Government moves to replace its traditional EFTS funding (where educational institutions are funded according to how many equivalent full-time students they have) with capped funding and a staged introduction of the competitive PBRF as the main funding mechanism for tertiary institutions, have been received anxiously by both non-traditional and traditional degree providers, although for rather different reasons. With research outputs now a key determinant of future funding, many in teacher education feel that more conventional types of research are likely to be prioritised because of their perceived higher status. Inevitably, New Zealand universities are being forced down pathways of research competition similar to those in the US, the UK, and elsewhere (Alcorn, 2005).

Responses to the demand to be ever more active in research have often taken the form of a growth in practitioner research and the adoption of methodologies more associated with interpretive and critical paradigms than with traditionally strong post-positivist methodologies based in the psychological and behavioural sciences. The adoption of methods such as action research and self-study therefore appear to offer teacher educators several benefits: relevance, because they permit a focus on improving one’s own contexts of practice;

opportunity, because they enable practitioner-researchers to integrate research more seamlessly into their own practice and teaching loads; and even potential credibility, because these research endeavours can be legitimated, in part, through publication. For example, as noted earlier in this thesis, Zeichner, during his Division K vice-presidential address at the 1998 meeting of the American Educational Research Association, endorsed the development of the self-study movement in teacher education movement as “probably the most significant development ever in the field of teacher education research” (Zeichner, 1999, p. 8). This development, he said, opened up for teacher educators the chance to pursue forms of research outside the traditional range of positivist and behavioural research that had typified educational research throughout much of the 20th century.

Self-study research, with its focus on the authority of experience (Munby & Russell, 1994), is seen by its proponents as a form of research that particularly promotes scholarship in teacher education and enables teaching and research to inform each other in ways that support valuable learning outcomes for teacher educators and student teachers alike (Loughran, 2003). Rigorously conducted self-study offers teacher educators a way of making the largely tacit and unarticulated professional knowledge of teacher education available for public scrutiny and critique (Ham & Kane, 2004).

Self-study and other forms of action and practitioner research hold great promise for their teacher educator proponents. However, like other forms of research that challenge traditional positivist paradigms, advocates of these methodologies struggle for legitimacy and funding, often unsuccessfully (Kosnik & Beck, 2000). There is no simple solution to the research dilemma in teacher education, largely because, unlike most - if not all - other academic fields of knowledge, the job of researcher within teacher education cannot easily be conceptually or practically separated from the job of teacher. This difficulty is often articulated as the complex dual mandate that requires teacher educators to serve both the profession and the academy - to simultaneously “serve two masters” (Reynolds, 1995, p. 222). Knowles et al. (2000b, p. 7) have this to say when summing up their thinking regarding this dual mandate:

... the problem for most teacher educators, especially those committed to change in teacher education, is that no matter how hard they try, the scales are impossible to balance because the respective weights of academic and professional endeavors are uneven at the outset. According to the values and standards of the university, teaching, service, professional and community

development, and other activities that have mainly local or personal implications and which demand inordinate time and energy commitments, do not carry much weight ... the heavyweights from the university perspective are those activities which result in intellectual and financial prestige and international acclaim. For most teacher educators, it seems, any balance that is possible to achieve is always imperfect. Such imperfections come from being mired in the swamps of practice, so teacher educators are implicitly led to believe.

In addition to the authors' recognition of the inevitable privileging of research over any professional endeavours, the ironic use of the metaphor of teacher educators "mired in the swamps of practice" hints at the deficit discourses that prevail. Schön (1995) characterises this dilemma as an epistemological one in which teacher educators are caught between a rock and a hard place - between rigour (the "high hard ground overlooking the swamp") and relevance ("the swamp") in their conduct of research (p. 28).

This present study therefore has taken place at a time when, in respect of the job of teacher education, even deciding what research *is* as a professional activity has been particularly problematic, when competing definitions of what counts as research have permeated the discourse of education, and when the teacher educators involved have moved from institutional and policy contexts in which research was not an expectation of the job to contexts in which it may become the main one. As will be seen below, of all the aspects of the job of teacher education that the teacher educators spoke about and identified with, the place of research was understandably the most problematic.

Service: duality or multiplicity?

Ironically, the notion of 'two masters' - the dual mandate - accentuates and perpetuates a rather binary notion of the teacher educator role as a creative tension between research only and teaching only. However, this notion does little justice to the rather more complex job descriptions that emerge from the accounts of individual teacher educators in the self-study literature, and the accounts that emerge from the teacher educators in this study. Studies such as those reported above tend to focus on a binary tension between research and teaching, thereby often subsuming other teacher education roles under either the 'teacher' or the 'researcher/scholar' hat and as such they often ignore the complex service mantles that most teacher educators in fact wear.

The role of service, that "scholarly stepchild of the three, receiving inadequate attention

and even less recognition” (Driscoll & Lynton, 1999, p. 1) and the third element in Ducharme’s and others’ academic triad, is arguably the most problematic, but least problematised, aspect of teacher educators’ job descriptions. It is certainly the area where the greatest disparity seems to exist between definitions of service conceived as internally focussed administration or management (Ducharme, 1993), and more community-oriented definitions of service conceived either as the provision of continuing professional development, with teacher educators as models of innovation and high-quality professional practices for in-service colleagues (Turney & Wright, 1990), or as an ‘ethic of care’, emphasising the pastoral work done for student teachers (Walker, Gleaves & Grey, 2006; Weber, 2000). Driscoll and Lynton (1999, p. 1) observe, “... service has been the scholarly stepchild of the three, receiving inadequate attention and even less recognition.”

Drawing on personal narratives, other individual teacher educators (e.g., Kosnik & Beck, 2000; Sumsion, 2000; Weber, 2000) also focus on the research/service divide for teacher educators in the academy. Weber (2000), for example, critiques the dilemma of this divide, arguing that an “ethos of service” (p.72) common to many teacher educators does not disappear in the shift to teacher education and that it can lead to the perception that publishing research is self-serving, detracting from their moral commitment and in some way at odds with how they conceive their role priorities (see also Weber, 1990). While reluctance could be construed as a form of pedagogical resistance (Cochran-Smith, 1991), Weber (2000, p. 67) also notes:

Ambivalence toward service and research is not only a personal experience but an institutional one as well. Rightly or wrongly, administrators were perceived by most people ... as unaware of the time and energy necessary for supervising student teachers and unappreciative of the service aspects of an education professor’s role, particularly when it comes to awarding tenure, promotions or merit pay ... Such things as heavy teaching loads, inadequate credit for field supervision and numerous administrative duties place enormous demands on faculty time and energy.

While teacher educators wish to participate in and gain affirmation of their academic scholarship and, by proximity, their academic identity, there are difficulties, at institutional level, of “navigating a safe route across the battlefield of competing ideologies ... [and avoiding] getting caught in the cross-paradigm fire” (Weber, 2000, p.67). In this light, it is not surprising to find teacher educators arguing for a more inclusive view of scholarship and

academic freedom that allows them to keep their commitments to their students and the professional community without jeopardy (Cole, 2000).

Service conceived in this way becomes more than just a part of a job description. It becomes a value proposition, prioritised by many teacher educators as a work component above both teaching and research. This concept of service can markedly affect teacher educators' job satisfaction, both negatively and positively. In their study of 27 women academics in faculties of education in Canada, Acker and Feuerverger (1996) suggest that having a strong service and caring ethos - "doing good" - may be a particular issue for women academics, in terms of creating a sense of overwork, taking undue responsibility for supporting others, including colleagues and students, and being good departmental citizens at their own expense. The resultant disappointment and "feeling bad" that stems from a sense of 'working harder', and the expectation that they will take greater responsibility for the nurturing and housekeeping side of academic life, often does not lead to the same rewards or recognition as men receive.

This gendered aspect of caring in teaching can often lead to service being peripheralised and dismissed instead of being positioned as a positive contribution to "their and their students' sense of scholarly endeavour" (Walker et al., 2006, p. 347). It also speaks to Hochschild's (1983) concept of 'emotional labour' as discussed further in Chapter 7 of this thesis. Cole (2000) similarly notes the affective implications of teacher educators' work as an elusive quest for balance and peace of mind. While arguing for more professional autonomy over time (the freedom to choose and follow one's passions), she suggests that many female teacher educators, in particular, are "so entrenched in their feminised roles that they keep working harder to met personal, professional and institutional demands without overtly questioning the fairness and appropriateness of such demands and resources available to meet them" (p. 39).

Professional Identity as Job Description

How, then, did the teacher educators in this study 'describe' their jobs? And what contribution do these accounts make to evoking their several and collective professional identities?

While there might be a broad consensus in the literature that the teacher education job is roughly divisible into teaching, scholarship/research, and service, the debates regarding what teaching research and service might *mean* to teacher educators when played out in their

respective working lives also emphasises that, as broad labels, the terms hide significant dissensus over the breadth and scope of the professional activities that could be included within them. These debates also remind us that describing teaching, research, or service activities as professionally *meaningful* for those who undertake them may be as much about describing the sense of ethicality and emotionality these individuals associate with the activity, as about merely describing the activity itself. In defining teacher educators' professional identity as a matter of 'job description', we need to pay attention not only to the list of tasks they do, but also to the relative values and priorities that they assign to those tasks as 'valued work'.

Over the time I conducted the study, each of the participants was teaching graduate diploma courses or undergraduate courses in the same or related curriculum areas within secondary programmes. However, the different cultural and geographic contexts in which they were carrying out their jobs, and the fact that there was (and still is) no agreed national curriculum for teacher education, allowed and created very different workloads and role descriptions for each of them. In order to capture the complexities and subtle variations in their respective jobs as they described them, and the variety in the range of tasks assigned to them by their various institutions, I take a narrative approach. I present case-by-case snapshots and then summarise the key commonalities that emerged in the ways they separately and severally conceptualised their professional activities in relation to the academic triad outlined above.

Lewis

Lewis's experience of the job of teacher educator differed most from the job as experienced by the others in the study. This was because, during much of his career, he had straddled both the pre- and in-service sectors. His role also had involved not just teaching pre-service courses in curriculum (English) and professional studies, but also significant elements of advisory and professional development work with teachers in schools, and international consultancy work.

At the moment, my job is divided roughly into three parts; the largest part of that is a pre-service teaching component. I teach professional studies, what we call teaching and learning, LTL - Learning Through Language - a literacy course which I teach [several] times over the course of the year and where I teach senior English within that component. I am also a supervising lecturer, which means I

visit [these students] on practicum, mark their teaching folders, their journals and interview them after each practicum to set goals for next practicum. Finally, within this component there is a bit of pastoral care, and also I write my ten profiles at the end of the year for my supervising teacher group. (Interview, 2006)

When engaged in the pre-service teaching component, Lewis's load was approximately eight hours of teaching a week, on a 1:3 ratio for preparation and marking. This happened when "students [were] not on practicum; roughly between five- to six- week blocks each time." Around this component, he fitted his 150 hours of in-service advisory work in cross-curricular literacy in regional secondary schools, and acted as a clearing house "for secondary English teachers in both regions so I connect people up and network them". He also had some hours allocated to follow up and mentor the previous year's students where needed. This "after-sales-service" role, as he called it, involved ongoing contact through face-to-face meetings and phone and email contact with 15 to 20 student teachers.

The other major workload component in Lewis's allocated load included ongoing international consultancy work, which comprised "two to three visits a year for eight to ten days in Niue. Usually that is self-contained work in that we try to get our reporting done by the time we come home, but there is follow-up work keeping in contact with them and sending them materials, etcetera". A further, much smaller, workload component required Lewis to spend 100 hours out of the 1,500 hours allocated workload "to facilitate my study on that one post-grad paper I'm doing ... It is really considered as something that has to be done." In other words, Lewis had a small amount of time within his load to upgrade qualifications.

Community service was an aspect of the role that Lewis considered key, although much of this work was not counted within his workload. Over recent years, Lewis's service beyond the institution and at regional and national levels had seen him involved in a number of ministry contracts, including the national 'Literacy Leadership' programme, voluntary community service as regional representative on the national council for his subject area, and chairing the organising committee of a national conference. Having in the past chaired the regional subject association, he was offering continuing curriculum leadership within that community, both formally (in terms of providing professional development for teachers on new curriculum and assessment implementation) and informally, through such things as judging speech competitions or writing competitions for the local newspaper. While this leadership was something he saw as having initially grown out of his role as an adviser in a

region where schools are isolated and comparatively small, the task had become an institutional expectation, and so added considerably to his workload:

... because of the brokering or mentoring role, this year I have insisted I have some hours [within my workload] to do this. I have consistently done this for the last five years, basically because people would ring me up and ask me, "Put me in contact with ... and what do you know about..." and it was mounting up. They thought, "English - LT, C of Ed," and they would ring me up. So I have insisted I have a few hours to cover this, but I do a lot of linking people up with other people ... There are a lot of people out there our age who do need someone to talk to about what they might do differently and what opportunities there are to reinvent themselves to keep themselves fresh for the next three to five years. (Interview, 2006)

Lewis considered these service roles as an important contribution he could make to teacher education - a giving back rather than a pathway to promotion. Yet many of the activities received no recognition within his workload unless he "fought" for that recognition.

I try doing judging speech competitions and judging stuff for the local paper - writing competitions and things like that. I see that as a natural part of my role, really ... I like it, as it enables me to give something back. As you get older, [it is good] being able to mentor people and feel passing on something that may be of use, and I quite like that feeling, as it gives you a warm glow - occasionally! (Interview, 2006)

Lewis recognised that his combined pre-service/in-service job was atypical, even within his own institution, and unlikely to continue in its current form once the pending merger with the local university occurred. Nonetheless, despite the pressures that this job expansion created for him, he did this work because of his total commitment to his teaching and students:

I love my job, I really do love it ... now that it has become such a way of life ... I wouldn't feel confident doing other things ... I do feel stress about the future of teacher education, particular the power of the institution ... but that is not enough to dampen my morale, day in, day out. I worry about that at the weekends and night. When I am here, I don't worry about it, as I am continually focused on my students. That is my protection. (Interview, 2006)

However, he acknowledged that this commitment had required some sacrifices in terms of his energy and other components of his work, and he found himself needing to be more strategic about his service roles in order to focus on his study:

At the moment I am focussed on getting the study done - elementary self-preservation going on here. Now I have decided to stay in teacher education, I have to make sure I have a decent job in the new set-up. Whereas up to now I never planned my career, I'm thinking about it a little bit now in terms of what I need to do... (Interview, 2006)

Ali

At first glance, Ali's job, as she described it, seemed most like the traditional, teaching-oriented job described above. Like Lewis, she was teaching in a merging institution, but her work almost completely consisted of teaching pre-service courses in her two specialism areas of English and media education. Her work here involved teaching two 120-hour courses over the whole year for her two groups of English 'majors', each at a different stage of completion relative to the respective one-year graduate diplomas. She was also teaching a 40-hour course for non-specialists in junior English and two other 20-hour curriculum-related courses. The other main component of her job was a shared professional studies group of 20-plus students. This work required her to teach generic professional teaching skills, undertake some blocks of practicum visiting and supervision, engage in ongoing pastoral care and professional guidance for the group, and write up the students' end-of-year profiles.

During the year in which I interviewed her specifically about the scope and nature of her work, she had a double English load, as her main colleague was engaged in other contract work, and she had taken on additional responsibility for coordinating her institution's curriculum centre. Along with timetabling curriculum centre courses, managing staffing and managing the budget, she was also updating resources, consulting advisory groups about the centre's courses, liaising with and moderating the curriculum and assessment of the regional campuses, and ensuring that compliance issues were being met.

As part of her official load, Ali was also teaching some Saturday sessions within a Ministry of Education-funded retraining programme for teachers returning to the profession. Because her major focus was within the intensive - but typical - one-year graduate diploma secondary programme, she was teaching four five-week intensive teaching blocks, a schedule which meant she was spending many hours on what Ducharme calls 'teaching-related

activities’.

Normally, I think we teach somewhere [between] 16 to 18 hours a week. That’s typical. This year, the last two blocks, I’ve been teaching 20 hours a week. The preparation is two for one. Marking goes on top of that. Marking with big classes like my English major group of thirty-three is huge marking, and I do give a lot of detailed feedback and feed forward, and [also] in the evaluations at the end of the course; students ...value the detailed feedback they get ... I’ve spent over an hour on some individuals’ assignments. And then there is my other mid-year majors too - another 20 plus of them, not to mention assignments for the other courses. (Interview, 2006)

Ali was conscious of having little time between classes, little “downtime”, as she said, little chance for reading or scholarship activities, and an inevitable intrusion into weekends in order to be prepared for the following week’s classes. All her energy and time was focussed on the one main aspect of her role - teaching and its associated activities: preparation and assessment. The reflection on her teaching work she deemed necessary was difficult to fit in. Lunchtime was a luxury, as was morning tea, because she was teaching over this time too: “... so, by the time you get to afternoon tea, you’re really dry, and hanging out for a good drink, a break, to relax.” She said that her “big picture planning” was done at the weekend in preparation for an 8 a.m. class on Monday, ironically a ‘lighter’ day of only four hours of teaching.

Ali compared the working intensity of teaching blocks unfavourably with teaching at secondary school, noting the complexity and different focus of the work, as well as the greater number of teaching hours she had as a teacher educator.

It’s full on. I work long hours during a teaching block. It can be really exhausting by the end of five weeks, and I think, gosh, ten-week teaching term in school, but it just wasn’t as intense. I think that it becomes so condensed into the five weeks - so much that you want to cover and share. I’m so much aware of the processing and where the different students are at, and I try to pack that all in. It is very demanding ... it’s very rewarding as well ... I used to teach only about 12 hours as an HOD. (Interview, 2006)

Ali considered her teaching load of up to 20 hours a week, with preparation and marking on top, the core part of her job. In so doing, she indicated, in similar vein to Lewis, a

prioritising of student need over other demands on her time. Teaching and individual guidance work with students was the important aspect of her work. Like Lewis, she was aware, however, that this commitment came at a cost; she had to compensate elsewhere to meet the other professional expectations of scholarship and upgrading of qualifications. She had been allocated a small time allowance for the latter, but she found that hard to fit in. The guilt and ‘feeling bad’ that this sense of overload was generating in her was something of a refrain in her thinking, as it was in the thinking of the other eight educators.

I feel bad that I don't do enough professional reading in English, because on top of everything else I am trying to do some research and I am trying to do my literature review. I am trying to read widely any time I have spare. I make myself do a little bit in the weekend. I cannot do that during the teaching week. I simply don't have the energy or the time. ... I just find that really, really difficult to fit in. (Interview, 2006)

As was the case with most of the others, her job also involved a raft of hidden, time-consuming demands, ranging from what she described as “administrivia”, such as dealing with her emails, to what she considered more significant - pastorally focused tasks, such as dealing with “constant” student requests. Outside the classroom, but still within the institution, professional guidance and pastoral care were consuming a large amount of her time. She saw these aspects of her work as “double-edged swords” - commitments she welcomed but recognised as time-devouring. She provided an example: “Contact with the students varies ... Sometimes you have got a needy student. When it does take a lot of time is when there is a student that's really struggling with assignment work, and I ask them to come in, and we'll go through it together”.

Ali estimated that talking with students, whether informally or during formal debriefings, took up to two days over a five-week working block. However, she did not consider this time expenditure “an imposition ...[because] it's such a valuable teaching tool. It's that dialogue that you can have when you are marking something.” It was evident from her comments that she had a strong ethic of care and enjoyed the pastoral role immensely.

Community service *outside* the institution was an aspect of her job attracting no specific time allocation, although the expectation that she would provide ‘curriculum leadership’ within her subject area was written into her formal job description. Like Lewis, she had made many unpaid contributions to the curriculum community she was serving. She had been, for many years, an active regional executive member of two curriculum

associations, served on several organising committees hosting national conferences, and had been frequently involved facilitating professional development in new assessment implementation for schools in the regions. She described this involvement as one of the “hidden ... taken-for-granted” service community aspects of the teacher educator role - something she sensed as expected of her in order to keep credibility with both her students and her professional community, but not officially counted as workload.

Anna

Anna was working in the same institution and the same programme as Ali, but her roles reflected a very different range of activity. As someone who had completed a PhD in recent years and for whom research was her chosen promotions pathway within the institution, she nonetheless described her role as .7 teaching and .3 chair of the local branch of ASTE (the teacher educators’ union). Her union time allowance was for the current year only, as part of the university merger process. In terms of teaching, her current load consisted of Years 2 and 3 theatre studies courses, Year 3 curriculum courses, and Year 3 professional studies, which averaged out at 12 hours teaching a week plus the accompanying marking and preparation. She calculated that a typical week of teaching and union work took up 50 hours.

When reflecting on these tasks, Anna, like Ali, highlighted the unseen minutiae of the job she was doing, and its multi-tasking nature.

Because I am teaching in a part of the programme that isn’t part of the whole - the grad dip [graduate diploma] - I have to do much more massaging to get my students on teaching practice than most people do, so ... it is almost daily consultation with [the teaching practice person] and daily approaching schools, re-checking daily. And today we have the final student placed. Tomorrow is last day of term. I saw my Year 3 students for the last time this morning. The last one we placed four hours after my last class with them, so all this is extra to the normal teaching. (Interview, 2006).

Anna’s description of her role as “point seven teaching and ‘related activities’” hid the large amount of time she was spending on developing a research profile. She had recently launched a book and completed a research study (commissioned by the Ministry of Education) about school stakeholders’ perceptions of the nature and quality of pre-service teacher education programmes.

Anna saw her extensive union work as her main ‘service’ to the community. She had been in similar roles for over 20 years on a voluntary basis, but because of the merger demands, this work had attracted payment for this particular year. She expressed deep commitment to the role, recognising it as much an ethical commitment to her teacher educator colleagues as a functional responsibility. While she saw the work as important, she did not consider it a powerful role or necessarily a good ‘career move’.

I have point three loading for chairing ASTE this year ... a hugely political role negotiating, paid for only because of the merger. There is the political thing, which is about preparing submissions for the university, negotiations for our contracts and canvassing. There is also the daily business ... advising staff on redundancy ... dealing with people with tears or tensions or people who feel they have an entitlement to a job and that job is being advertised outside. All those normal industrial kind of people/professional issues ... I share this role with someone, and we both feel an ethical and moral obligation that has got quite beyond anything else. Maybe we were foolish to have taken it on, but having taken it on, there is no one else on the staff ... no one is listening to them or caring for them, and they have no one they can appeal to ... I guess the union allows me one place where I feel that it doesn’t lead to my promotion, and I have a chance to give back. I add something, but I do think it is significant and maybe valued by people, but it certainly isn’t strategically useful for me. I don’t think it has ever opened a door or led to my promotion or anything like that.
(Interview, 2006)

Interestingly, Anna also saw research as a form of ‘service’, in terms of capacity building. As she noted, “... community service often goes with researching in some ways - it is a capacity-building [activity]. But that isn’t acknowledged in PBRF either.” One example of this duality was her elected position as chair of the college’s ethical clearance committee, responsible for assessing and approving the ethical comments of proposed research work.

While Anna afforded research a higher priority than did either Lewis or Ali, she was at pains to emphasise this work as ‘service’ in various ways, both within the institution and beyond. She held an official position within an international organisation in her area and, until recently, was involved either as an editor or a publications officer for her national secondary curriculum association. Both of these positions were unpaid.

Bella

After two years as a subject adviser in in-service teacher education, and then 10 years in pre-service education, Bella decided to resign/retire earlier in the year, but then ended up continuing to teach a number of English and drama courses within the three-year degree for specialist secondary drama teachers and within the graduate diploma, albeit on a part-time basis. More specifically, she was teaching a major course in drama, comprising 80 hours and three 20-hour courses across the degree and the diploma. She was also facilitating the creation of a publicly performed drama production for her major group and smaller, but nonetheless public, presentations as the culmination of another B.Ed drama course. And she was engaged as a professional studies tutor for the third-year B.Ed students. This additional work involved teaching a course comprising 20 hours as well as visiting a dozen people on their teaching practicums.

For Bella, community ‘service’ had always been a priority and was even more outward looking than was the case for the other eight educators. Bella’s prominence within her relatively small curriculum community nationally was significant because of her role as lead developer for the drama strand of the arts curriculum. This role meant a two-year stint of consultation and development work with teachers, colleagues and MOE officials. As well, Bella had until recently been the national moderator for the development of NCEA drama standards, and she was now a facilitator in Ministry of Education and NZQA contracts focused on national curriculum design and assessment development to support a new qualifications system. She saw these roles as contributing enormously to her national reputation with teachers. Bella described much of this work as being “done outside her formal college load”. She said the same of three other aspects of her service work - directing drama productions, spearheading school drama festivals, and regularly reviewing professional theatre productions in her city.

Bella saw all of these activities as part of her “staying current” and being “cutting edge” - attributes that Turney and Wright (1990) suggest are key components of teacher educators’ roles. Up to the time of her decision to resign from her full-time position, Bella had hoped that under the NZQA definition, these “applied and creative outputs” might be counted as research. Despite working less than full time, Bella intended to continue her leadership role in the national and regional curriculum communities and the wider cultural community, as director of a local repertory theatre. Less formal paid work, she said, gave her the time she craved to do the service and creative work that most fulfilled her.

Dan

Dan's role had changed considerably since he began, 20 years earlier, at what was then a college of education. His initial work there involved working in bridging courses designed to enhance school-leavers' literacy skills. For a long time, he juggled dual pre- and in-service roles and, like Lewis, divided his time between teaching pre-service students and acting as the regional English adviser. Unlike most of his colleagues, he taught across college programmes in both the primary and secondary areas, and over the years had done much tutoring within the English department of his local university, work that is now within his formal teaching load, given the merger between his college and the university.

Dan's university workload formula was based on 486 face-to-face hours a year. Approximately half of his workload was allocated to teaching and teaching-related activities, which he described as including assessment and practicum visiting. He was, when I interviewed him, responsible for two major secondary English education courses, each of 72 hours' duration. In addition, he was teaching secondary English courses in Years 1 and 3 of the Bachelor of Teaching degree, and two BA papers within the School of Film and Theatre, which took a further 66 hours.

Dan also had a curriculum leadership role, for which he had been allocated a further .2 of load, which he described as a "generous time allowance". This cross-discipline role saw him leading what he called a "hotchpotch" of areas across teacher education sectors, including advisory, primary, and secondary. Subject areas within his leadership included ESOL, advisory, and Te Reo (Maori language). In addition to engaging him in these administrative/leadership tasks, this role involved him in mentoring or advising colleagues in terms of their professional development and creating cohesion among disparate areas. He was overseeing and monitoring courses and course evaluations, organising meetings several times a years to bring people together, and providing leadership in terms of curriculum innovation and course development. He also said that in part because of having "a foot in both camps", he had a role establishing bridges between relevant other university discipline areas and teacher education.

As was the case for several of the other teacher educators who participated in this study, the merger between his college of education and the local university had led to his institution placing the upgrading of staff qualifications high on its priorities agenda. Dan had recently embarked on PhD studies to conform to these expectations. To facilitate this process, his institution had given him a .1 time allocation within his current workload. Studying

towards a PhD was something Dan had been encouraged to do decades earlier when, after graduating, he had worked as a junior lecturer at the university. However, he had decided to pursue teaching. Doing a PhD at this stage of his career was something he said he was “ambivalent about at the best of times” and even “harbours some resentment about”, since it was distracting him from doing what he knows he excels at. Though not unfavourably disposed towards the idea and aware that he rendered himself vulnerable in a climate of redundancies if he did not complete a PhD, he questioned the value of such a venture. At least, he said, his institution had offered him a relatively generous allocation of time for this study, with possibilities of more extended leave available. Dan’s proposed PhD topic was the teaching of poetry in schools.

The service aspect of Dan’s role was something he had previously rarely considered. Despite having no time allowance in his workload for this commitment, there was, he said, an “unspoken assumption that he [would] stay in touch with networks” and do what he needed to do to stay abreast of new developments. These included attending and presenting at relevant curriculum association conferences, attending and contributing to curriculum development through participation on ministry advisory groups and sector reference groups, serving as a marker for school-sector external examinations, and “feeding back” to his teacher educator colleagues on curriculum and assessment. Dan’s comments made it obvious that he took these aspects of his role for granted and acknowledged that they could be worked into his load without specific recognition or time allocation.

Jane

Like the others, Jane was teaching in a merged institution. However, she differed somewhat from her colleagues in respect of her teaching load being “not a huge load, but all over the place”. Even so, she was “usually there [at work] on Saturdays and Sundays” and estimated that her teaching-related activities alone typically added up to about 60 hours a week. While predominantly teaching a post-graduate diploma, Jane was also teaching across programmes, across her institutions’ venues and campuses, and across various modes of delivery. Her teaching load during the year I interviewed her included three face-to-face semester-long courses in English education for junior and senior levels, a face-to-face secondary-level course within the ESOL diploma, two or three study-guide online ‘legacy’ courses done via WEBCT, and a shared Stage 3 arts paper, offered at one of the other campuses. She was also coordinating all the secondary English papers within her centre, work that involved such

tasks as updating courses, resourcing, managing the budget, and moderating courses for both the local and regional campuses.

Jane commented that one result of the merger was an increase in class sizes, which meant she had had to change her way of teaching, although, in her view, “not in pedagogically sound ways”. Another consequence of this change, she said, was “more preparation, more marking and more visiting”.

Despite the overt pressure on staff to upgrade their qualifications, Jane had received no time allowance in her workload for research. Had she been scored “research active” during the first PBRF round before the institutions merged, she could have expected 20% of her workload to be designated for research. But as she was not, her workload was 80:20 teaching:service, as opposed to 60:20:20, teaching:research:service, which is the normal institutional allocation. This situation did not mean, however, that she was not engaged in academic research. Like Sarah and Dan, she had taken up doctoral studies. She was now in her second year of enrolment in an EdD at her own university, with all the requirements for portfolio and field work that go with this. She said she was enjoying this work and considered her dissertation area - adolescents’ out-of school reading - “important to the future of English”.

As a principal lecturer in her institution, Jane maintained within her institution, and regionally and nationally, a high community service profile in her subject area. But while she could show considerable peer esteem outputs through ministry contracts, national and international professional consultancies roles, as well as publications in her national subject journal and in the form of three textbooks, these outputs, under current PBRF ratings, were insufficient to qualify her for a research time allowance within her. As such, all of this work was being achieved ‘above load’.

It was apparent that Jane had carried an enormous service load throughout her career, and, along with several of the other teacher educators in the study, expressed strong feelings about her ethical obligations as a teacher educator. For Jane, the conception of service included the smaller administrative, and even domestic, activities and obligations that help a department or faculty function smoothly and hence improve the quality of a shared work environment. Jane was ‘serving’ as staff faculty representative on the teaching quality committee, which oversees all new courses, and as the elected staff representative on the newly constituted faculty academic board. Most important of all for Jane, however, was her belief that service meant more than internal administration and working pastorally to support

students and teacher educator colleagues; it meant working with, and within, the wider, ‘outside’ communities of schools, teachers and policy makers.

... [It] means going in and working with teachers in schools. It means supporting professional associations to do with my work and not just the subject ones, but also others ... it means also being involved in ministry [advisory groups] that you don’t get paid for. It’s answering emails from teachers, it’s writing textbooks for kids, it’s taking part on the campus, it’s manning stalls at [university] open days, it’s having conversations with people on practicum about how the work they do could make your work better, it’s talking to support staff about the culture of how they can help people, and it’s trying to help out the heads of schools as you see the kind of hours they are putting in. It is making sure the dishwasher is full and washed and unpacked and the kitchen is tidy - all the things that aren’t in anyone’s job descriptions. Its tidying up resource rooms, it’s being the staff rep on things when you are asked to. Its having conversations with colleagues who say, “I have to go to the dentist tomorrow,” and [you then] saying, “I’ll take your class.” (Interview, 2006)

For Jane, the job of teacher educator encompassed “collegiality” in its widest sense.

Rachel

Rachel was working in the same university as Jane. However, while Jane came to her current role as an employee of the previously independent college of education, Rachel’s career history as a teacher educator had always been based within the university. Rachel’s .5 teaching load involved teaching courses in English education, media education, and education studies, and visiting students on practicum

I teach a lot. I teach virtually all day on Tuesday and Friday in the city and then I go out to the other campus afterwards and put in another three to four hours usually, and am flat out on it on Monday, Wednesday, and Thursday. I am flat out on admin stuff ...when students [go] out on practicum. It could be full time if you made it that way. It’s huge. No extra pay with it. ... I do eighty-four [hours] per semester with my English group and forty-two with my media group. In the first practicum, I visited about twenty, and this practicum I will be visiting about sixteen. There are probably only about three to four others visiting as many; not to say that I am heavily booked, but much lighter than I used to be

when I would visit about thirty people. Often thirty-five to forty. I was running!

(Interview, 2006)

Like Jane, Rachel saw her practicum visiting as an “unseen” - even “unpaid” - component of her job, something she accepted with equanimity because the work involved was less than it had been in the past. But she acknowledged this work as yet another thing she had to “juggle” as she rushed between schools and campuses.

The second of Rachel’s three formal roles was ‘programme leader, secondary’ in the School of Education. This role, for which she had a .5 time allowance, but neither extra salary nor job description, was heavily administrative in nature. However, she saw within it significant opportunities for creative development and leadership.

There is no job description! It is what I make of it. I appear to be responsible for a ... medley ... of programmes ... I spend an enormous amount of time on individual students, which I actually don’t mind, looking at various programmes, pulling together LATs [Limited Authority to Teach] and legacy programmes²⁰ and current programmes in the region, and all those things ... There is plenty of scope for development at the moment, and I am trying to work on a number of fronts, particularly our public face with the schools, and developing that in the form of an active consultation committee with principals ... and organising things like Principals Day and things like that. Doing a whole lot of work keeping things ticking over, developing new programmes and things like that. A huge amount of admin. (Interview, 2006)

In regard to service *outside* the institution, Rachel had still managed to keep up many professional community links with her subject area, chairing and providing professional leadership within her local regional association for several years.

Rachel recounted that, as someone under some pressure to complete her doctorate, and on the advice of a close colleague, she had been told to ‘scale back’ her community activities and reduce the time given to students so that she could focus on her doctoral work. Like Jane, Rachel had no actual workload allocation for research, despite having studied on top of full-time work and over several years towards her EdD (which she completed during the time of this study). Because her teacher education work had always been located in the academy, she

²⁰ Programmes that had been set up in the past and were still ‘on the books’ but no longer running. These programmes applied to students who had not completed their qualifications and now wanted to see how they could get recognition of their prior learning.

said she was constantly being made aware of the expectations that her research should focus on completing her doctorate. However, and again as was the situation for Jane, her current PBRF rating of 'research inactive' meant she, too, had no time allowance for completing the very thing that she thought the institution most wanted her to do.

Sarah

Sarah and Rachel were the two teacher educators in this sample whose teacher education careers had been continuously based in the university. Sarah was teaching pre-service English and professional education courses within one of her university's secondary post-graduate diploma courses. As the only full-time person in her programme, she felt overwhelmed at times by the teaching load alone.

I teach *all* the English. It's three forty-hour papers internal offerings and three forty-hour papers external offerings. So, in a sense, it's six different paper offerings. Plus I teach online versions of the courses at the same time. They're very intensive. And then I would also be teaching in the integrated teaching paper ... I did have an educational media paper that I wrote the course guide [for] and have been teaching the last couple of years, though I was reluctant [about that]. I have passed that on to someone else this year and ... so I'm happy about that. (Interview, 2006)

Sarah was also teaching the central core papers and the professional generic education and integrated teaching studies papers, and she had recently acquired a new role as coordinator of the Graduate Diploma, Secondary. This management and leadership position was similar to that held by Rachel at her university, and involved a number of key administrative tasks for the whole programme. Sarah was thus coordinating the teaching experience papers and the programme in general, organising and overseeing the student selection and enrolment processes, managing issues to do with overall timetabling, and responsible for staffing and general student welfare. She received no workload allowance for any of these responsibilities. However, she saw this work as a stepping-stone to promotion to a more academic position down the track, and said that if she needed extra help, her superiors would be positively disposed to her requests. Sarah explained that this body of work is considered a service role in the university - a contribution to the School of Education. Like Anna and Rachel, much of her 'service' was internally focussed within the teacher education

programme itself, compared to the largely external service with teachers, schools and policy-makers in which Lewis, Bella, Jane and Ali were engaged.

Sarah described her job as one that included significant research and publication expectations. This work had not fazed her in the past, because she had “managed to fit it in” by completing a doctorate in three years while teaching full time. In hindsight, this research-based activity was something she relished.

I explored a whole area I’m interested in ... it was more something I needed to do, and while I was learning and exploring the areas I wanted to explore ... [I was] increasing my understanding. The actual process of doing a doctorate was very much a personal process, my personal journey, my portfolio, and fantastic. I really enjoyed it. (Interview, 2006)

Despite her heavy teaching workload, she had managed to sustain the publication profile expected in a university environment and to keep a balance between that and teaching. She was, however, concerned over whether her new leadership role as programme coordinator would upset this balance.

I’m right at the moment. I’ve always managed to keep everything balanced and managed to keep generating research even while I’ve been doing my PhD. I’ve been generating articles as well. I am concerned now with this new role as the co-ordinator. Your days can disappear very quickly, filled with not a lot of what appears to be trivia but isn’t really trivia, as it is sorting out little bits and pieces. I have an anxiety that’s going to fill my life up, and I was just suggesting to a colleague that what I am going to do is to make a commitment to have one day a week a research day. (Interview, 2006)

Evolving Professional Complexity

While these snapshots in time serve to highlight the variety and complexity of the tasks that the teacher educators regarded as defining the scope of their work, they reveal only part of the picture. In particular, they do not make prominent the ever-changing nature and evolving diversity of job description that characterised the teacher education careers of most of them.

The notion of complexity is one that emerged constantly from the educators’ stories. They all had a conception of their role/work/job as multi-faceted and multi-layered - one in which the many aspects overlap with others. As they described them, their jobs were a complex mix of the pedagogical, pastoral, scholarly, interpersonal, managerial,

administrative, advisory, consultative. They were research-oriented and policy-related and they included leadership tasks and responsibilities. Moreover, the educators often had to operate across these quite different roles at the same time. When asked about their ‘typical’ days, their answers tended to be along the lines of one minute they could be teaching 35 adults in a workshop environment or modelling some pedagogical principle or technique. The next moment they would find themselves in a strategic planning meeting with government officials discussing curriculum development, or they might be planning a new course for their institution. Or they could be meeting with teaching colleagues in schools or observing and advising student teachers on practicum. And after that, they might be writing (or marking) a Master’s or a doctoral thesis, or writing or refereeing an article for a journal. Their teaching tended to occur in concentrated blocks of five or more weeks, and to be conducted simultaneously in online and face-to-face forums. The flow of their jobs constantly changed within the academic year and often had significant travel components that required extensive juggling of personal and professional commitments.

All eight identified this combination of variety and intensity in their work as one of the two aspects constituting the ‘complexity’ of their jobs in respect of professional activity. The other ‘complicating’ aspect was the fact that, for most of them, their job descriptions had changed and grown significantly over time. As they had become acculturated as teacher educators, their jobs had not only become more familiar but also significantly bigger.

Lewis provides an example of one whose work had noticeably developed and evolved over time, either through promotions or in response to reforms in the sector. His early work as a teacher educator involved both pre-service and in-service contexts so that he could help schools implement new educational policies through the professional development of teachers. This advisory role involved him in larger ministry initiatives such as Literacy Leadership, and enabled him, along with other opportunities, to learn new skills and develop new areas of expertise beyond his curriculum knowledge. Lewis’s international work - brought about by his institution’s entrepreneurial seeking of work offshore to contribute new sources of funding - had, for the last three years, formed a significant part of his overall load and employment obligations. In general, the changes in his work followed two patterns. First, his literacy advisory work, part of what might be seen as a linear and natural progression, had allowed him to build on his foundations as an English educator. Second, his work in Niue had led to him developing quite divergent skills in strategic planning and thinking.

“It changes all the time” was Anna’s response when reflecting on her career, which had encompassed a gradual move from a role predominantly focused on teaching towards a role

that prioritised research and research leadership. More recently, during the merger, she had taken on management of the faculty union. The last couple of years had seen her gain contestable research contracts with the Ministry of Education and assume part-time cross-programme roles as bicultural coordinator and chair of the research committee. Even more recently, she had become associate dean of post-graduate courses. These contracts/roles had meant less teaching in her job description and a greater focus on cross-programme leadership and research. Underpinning Anna's job diversification was her strong internal motivation to seek out new opportunities, to do different work, to constantly 'reinvent' herself as a teacher educator and, as a corollary of this work, to seek promotion within the new institution.

Bella's teacher educator career history also illustrates just how extensively some job descriptions changed over time. For Bella, this type of change was largely the result of her own pro-activity, personal motivation and dedication to her second teaching area, drama. Having initially been employed to teach English alongside some drama, Bella's community service work found her trying to straddle both teaching and playing a leading role in the development and implementation of a new national assessment system in drama. A change in the national climate, growing opportunities for recognition of drama, and the success of another four year-undergraduate secondary degree within the institution itself, led her to a job leading the development and implementation of a new secondary specialist degree in drama. At the same time, as noted earlier, she took on a number of strategic national development roles in curriculum and in assessment. These professional service roles brought kudos and some institutional funding along with community credibility and professional satisfaction for Bella. However, as 'above load' work, they also brought a hidden workload and pressure to demonstrate an ever-developing professional skill-set.

While relatively radical shifts in direction were a notable feature of the teacher educator careers of several of the study participants, 'change' and 'variation' were more characteristic of a process of evolutionary ebb and flow in the work of the others. Jane's changing roles over the years, for example, reflected her institution's increasingly entrepreneurial approach to bidding for and winning large external grants. Although teaching across two subject areas and across programmes in pre-service, she and a colleague had secured, two years previously, a significant contract with the Ministry of Education to manage the professional development and implementation of the new secondary qualifications system for all teachers in the region, across all curriculum areas. This professional development role took Jane out of her usual job into daily work with teachers in schools for three years, after which the focus of her job reverted to her predominantly pre-service teaching role.

Taken together, these teacher educator job histories not only describe shifts in the nature of the work the educators had undertaken over the years, but also imply a significant diversification in the skill-sets required. Managing million dollar professional development contracts is a rather different job from that of teaching a class or analysing research data or, for that matter, providing policy advice. The histories illustrate how the broad and constantly growing skill-sets of individual teacher educators enabled them to take on new roles. They also reveal how these roles evolved through a combination of individually motivated career development and institutional expectation and demand. Sometimes the role shifts seemed to follow a natural and linear progression as new opportunities opened up in a similar field. Just as often, though, they represented a conscious and divergent shift in the individual's personal focus, his or her openness to risk-taking, and his or her deliberate pursuit of new professional challenges. As teacher educators, the participants still held, as had been the case during their time as school teachers, a strong sense of not remaining static professionally, and of being always 'on the move' in their careers.

Job Intensification

One important aspect of these accounts of the teacher educators' respective job descriptions is their growing awareness of the breadth and complexity of their work - their acknowledgement that there was a lot more to their role than just "teaching courses, attending meetings and visiting some students on section". A second important aspect is that of job accrual or job accumulation. The notion of job accrual refers to their sense that the job was not only broader in scope or more complex than they had first thought it would be, but that it was also somehow quantitatively 'bigger'. Tasks and task expectations accumulated and expanded, both in number and in terms of the types of tasks, methods of delivery, and the new skills that had to be learned as a result. This sense of accrual was the result of the imposition of new, additional roles and expectations by their institutions. But it was also the result of two more internalised forms of professional motivation: (i) their personal commitment to their own professional growth and desire to take on new challenges that would give them a sense of 'movement' or 'progression' in their careers; and (ii) their reluctance to surrender valued aspects of their existing job descriptions in order to make room for new ones. Robinson and McMillan (2006) describe a similar phenomenon among South African teacher educators as *job intensification* - "doing more and working harder rather than eroding their own ideology of professionalism" (p. 334). They suggest that this

type of job accumulation may reflect some unspoken guilt among teacher educators about no longer being teachers in schools and represent their attempts to keep these links and allegiances as a way of retaining their own sense of community credibility.

While each of the nine teacher educators had, on paper, an approximate number of hours or ‘point’ of load for the different, formally recognised aspects of their jobs, they found juggling these a complex and, at times, dispiriting business, often resulting in uncomfortable clashes of priorities. Lewis, for example, highlighted the increasing difficulty of working split time across the pre-service and in-service teacher education sectors, each with different but increasing compliance demands. Teaching in the pre-service time blocks complicated his advisory work, which he could only do at certain times because of the out-of-town travel required. He estimated that he spent at least a quarter of his nights away from home when practicum visiting, during in-school advising trips, and doing international consultancy work. The combined requirements for professional development meetings, operating in a team, meeting administrative milestone deadlines, and doing research “have meant,” he said, “the death of people like me. It has become impossible.”

For staff such as Lewis who worked in school advisory services contracted through reviewable Ministry of Education contracts to deliver outputs to schools, the mergers between the colleges of education and the universities had added another layer of complexity. As a consequence, most advisory service staff within the new institutions had been re-designated as ‘general’ or ‘professional’ staff rather than as ‘academic’ staff. They had thus simultaneously been afforded lower status, subjected to increasing centralised compliance requirements, but exempted from the pressures of PBRF placed on fellow academic colleagues. But for Lewis and colleagues like him, it appeared that successfully straddling and managing these various roles had become impossible.

Others, notably Jane, Rachel, Bella, and Anna, talked often of having to constantly juggle the various aspects of their respective workloads. They spoke of the difficulties of maintaining course teaching timetables while fitting in complicated practicum visiting schedules, or of rushing back to the campus for meetings or to deal with student crises. Anna aptly referred to this kind of complexity as “multi-tasking”. What she meant by this term was that her different roles overlapped, often creating clashes in priorities. It was apparent from her comments and those of the other teacher educators, that the inevitable compromises accompanying role juggling could be especially disillusioning for those for whom teaching and an ethical commitment to student welfare is extremely important. As Anna put it, “So if

you can't do that as well as your teaching, you fail. It's not that you burn out, you actually fail. I mind that! I mind being kind of jammed into failure corners!"

Another example of additive or cumulative thinking related to job accrual was evident in the teacher educators' often expressed reluctance to give up the pastoral aspects associated with teaching, which in turn meant an accumulation rather than a shedding of jobs. Ali's experience provides an excellent case of this. Facing larger classes, a heavier teaching and marking load than usual, and the pressure to do research, her solution was not to rationalise student demands but simply to load herself with extra hours - rather than surrender the pastoral role she deemed so important.

I had a struggling student come in yesterday. She had some other matters happening in her life and has not gone on teaching practice so she has only just done her last block assignment. She brought it in and we spent an hour and a quarter going through it page by page ... Her thinking isn't clear. It took an hour. Now that happens when I'm on a working day, so that is an hour on top. ... Sometimes they'll just pop in, and it's five minutes. ... But it can take up time. (Interview, 2006)

Ali also said she was reluctant to give up school visiting during practicums for similar reasons.

If Ali found it difficult to reduce her pastoral commitments, Rachel found it similarly difficult to shed her voluntary teaching in schools. For the first six years of her full-time work in teacher education, she maintained a relationship with the school she had left by teaching one of its classes four times a week. It was, she said, a way of overcoming the sense of professional isolation that she felt in a small programme within a different dominant culture.

I [now] face a dilemma of wanting more classroom teaching experience because that was something I maintained everywhere after I left the school. I still taught a class in the school ... I still want to maintain that, but I realise that I simply don't have time to do it, and that the twelve or so hours a week that goes into preparing that is the time that needs to go into my doctorate and into developing my programs at the university ... It wasn't part of my load ... [and it] has become harder and harder. (Interview, 2004)

All participants in the study, at one point or another, drew attention to the amount of above-load, voluntary, unpaid work that had slowly become a part of their own, and

sometimes their institutions', expectations. But when jobs accrue, time surfaces as a scarce resource, and even more so when institutions do not provide time for expected additional tasks. In both the college of education and at least two of the university contexts, time dedicated to research had, for the educators, become an ever-increasing expectation within their respective job descriptions - an expectation accompanied with little or no commensurate reduction in teaching load and service-related obligations.

Moreover, various aspects of the teacher educator job take up great amounts of what the teacher educators described as hidden time or, as one of them put it, "black hole activities". Their allusion here was to activities that are not only *not* recognised within formal workload allocations, but also undervalued, or recognised in a token way only. They saw the time commitment given to practicum supervision and pastoral care activities for student teachers as especially exemplary of this situation. Enormously time consuming, these tasks attracted no formal workload allocation and their value received little acknowledgement from institutional managers. Jane and Sarah in particular discussed the costs in terms of time and personal stress that practicum visiting placed on their task prioritisation.

Another reason why jobs seemed to accrue rather than simply change for the teacher educators in the study was a general lack of clarity regarding formal job descriptions. Several of the educators did not have a written or formal job description, and none of those who did have one was actually doing the job as described therein. Sarah, just to take one example, described her official workload as "extremely heavy [but] hard to pin down" because there was little by way of negotiated agreement in respect of her job definition.

I also do teacher visiting during teaching practice ... It's been reduced but, I have to say there have been times, [although] not within the last two years, where I've done up to eighty to ninety visits with students ... over one semester. Over the last two years, I've probably done between twenty to twenty-five visits per teaching practice, so that's three times a year. Sixty visits or more ... I simply do what I see needs to be done for things to run efficiently. The situation is that it hasn't been written down anywhere, and that is probably the problem. It's probably far too much if I add it up, but it's not unusual for me. ... I have an enormous load ... It's just a matter of time management. (Interview, 2006)

Like Sarah, Rachel also claimed that a lack of clear job description for her programme leader role meant that the job had become far more time-consuming than the putative .5 (of the full-time workload) allocated. She described spending three days a week "flat out", and

three to four hours on the other days on programme management, with all of this accompanied by a full teaching load, practicum visiting, and trying to put the finishing touches to her doctorate.

However, at the same time as they articulated the stress-creating elements of the lack of official job description, several of them recognised that the workload pressure was, perhaps, partly self-imposed, born not only of their desire not to compromise core values about teaching and learning but also of their ingrained conceptualisations about the value of face-to-face, interactive ways of working with students.

I don't *have* to lecture; I don't have to, and I don't. I don't by any means. We have clawed a lot more time - like, our normal four point paper at the university would be forty-eight hours of lecturing ... [but] we teach ninety-six hours. That's part of the difficulty of how we see our work - preferring far more contact face to face. (Interview with Rachel, 2004)

The educators thus saw the teacher education job not only as complex and ever changing, but also as intensifying, accruing and diversifying in scope and expectation. The teacher educators in the study defined the scope of their work broadly within Ducharme's academic triad of teaching, research, and service, although they had a much more comprehensive concept than his of service, seeing this more as community focused leadership than institutionally focused administration. They also had a strong sense that, given the breadth of this scope, the various elements of the triad are not in professional equilibrium but fighting one another for priority in an overloaded job description. Of each component of the triad, teaching was the area conceived most similarly by the members of the group. Service, in its various forms, tended to be the task-set most valued after that related to teaching. However, service tasks were deemed those most at risk of loss - as the ones that they would first, but most reluctantly, give up in the face of new challenges. For all of them, research was the component they found most problematic, especially in terms of 'fitting it in'.

Conclusion: Multiple Mandates and Mixed Messages

This chapter has focused on the actual work that teacher educators do in their daily professional lives and how their conceptualisations of that work offer a window into their sense of professional identity. The chapter has been based on the assumption that defining the

scope of a job and what its holders value, prioritise or most closely identify with among its activities is an essential part of defining a professional identity.

The work of the teacher educator, as depicted in the literature, often reflects what could be called an *academised* conception of its form and function. This conception is often framed more in terms of binary tensions between ‘teaching’ and ‘research’, or between ‘practice’ and ‘theory’, or between the ‘school’ and the ‘academy’ than in terms of tensions between any of these and ‘service’. However, for the teacher educators who participated in my study, the concept of ‘multiple mandates’ captures better than such binaries the scope of the job as they described it, just as their concepts of ‘professional leadership and pastoral commitment’ better capture the complexities of the notion of ‘service’ in a teacher educator’s job description than Ducharme’s description of it as simply ‘academic administration’.

At the broadest level of analysis, the work described by the teacher educators does conform to the traditional academic triad of teaching, scholarship/research, and service discussed in the literature (Ducharme, 1993, Ducharme & Ducharme, 1996). They talked, like Ducharme, of the job encompassing the teaching of formal courses in the academy, advising, and taking on administrative responsibilities, committee membership and research. They talked, like Turney and Wright (1990), of a job that encompassed and valued the professional mentoring of student teachers on practicum, and of being committed to innovative application of the latest ideas and practices. They talked, like Weber (2000), of service as an ethical commitment to students and to the task of ‘being a good colleague’. Each person described strong elements of all three parts of the triad as fitting within their workload, even though their written job descriptions and formal workload allocations often varied in the extent to which these were mirrored in practice. The socio-cultural and institutional contexts within which each of the teacher educators worked exerted a strong influence on how their particular job was allocated and valued, and consequently on the relative balance and valuing of specific tasks that they themselves assigned. As a result, the actual jobs they described doing within these broad categories were as notable for their variation in detail as their surface commonality. There was a recognisable ‘mantle’ for a teacher educator, but one size did not fit all.

Teaching

Teaching has traditionally been relatively unproblematic as the predominant and assumed ‘job’ of New Zealand teacher educators, coming, as they all have, direct from a teaching background in schools. The individual stories told during this study show that teaching and

teaching-related activities, including practicum supervision, remained the mainstay of the work of some of them. For the others, however, teaching and teaching-related activities declined over time as a component of their workload, as other quite distinct roles and tasks supplanted them. With the possible exception of their insistence that mentoring students on practicum was an inherent part of 'teaching', their description of the range of activities encompassed by 'teaching and related activities' was very similar to that outlined by Ducharme and in the RATE studies. The teacher educators saw teaching as encompassing all of classroom teaching, preparing to teach, assessment, and advising students on professional aspects of the career. All saw visiting students on teaching practice as a vital part of that role, and all were still doing it at the times these 'snapshots' were taken, even though research suggests that, internationally, practicum mentoring has declined in status as professional activity, as it has been increasingly farmed out to casual, non-tenured staff (Ling, 2002; AACTE, 1988, 1990).

For most of the study participants, the intensity of such teaching activity had also increased over time, even for those who had given up some teaching load in order to take on other responsibilities. And for most, class sizes had increased as a consequence of the mergers with local universities, as had marking loads. As a consequence, opportunity to maintain high-quality pastoral relationships with students was felt to have significantly diminished. Five of the teacher educators in the study were responsible for most of the teaching within their curriculum areas and worked in relative isolation in their programmes. Two others juggled teaching with management roles, and one mixed pre-service teaching with in-service advisory work. All of these components of their teaching work had what they as a group identified as 'unseen' or 'undervalued' workload implications. All, nevertheless, saw teaching and related activities as their main 'core business' and the inviolable foundation of their 'job'.

Research

In New Zealand, conducting empirical research is the 'new kid on the block' in respect of the teacher educator's job. All of the study participants described research as the most problematic activity to assimilate, or *fit*, into their mental model of the job and/or the time available to do it. Teaching and service, on the other hand, were firmly entrenched in each participant's notion of the job of teacher education, and for most of them (not all) the institutional requirement that they see themselves as researchers was both new and concerning. When discussing the need to do research, most of them expressed ambivalence,

uncertainty, self-doubt and even low self-efficacy. A key factor in this identity dilemma for not only the educators in my study but for many present-day New Zealand teacher educators, originates in the fact that the profession has not historically been one requiring a doctorate, but it is fast becoming one.

During the course of the study all but one of the teacher educators either began, or continued, to upgrade their formal qualifications, and for most this was the form that their research activity was taking. Only one of them had begun their career as a teacher educator with a doctorate. During the study, two others completed their doctoral studies (one a PhD, the other an EdD), two more embarked on a PhD, and two others began upgrading their degrees to Master's level. Each person, therefore, was at a different stage of his or her personal and professional academic journey; and each was thus motivated by rather different imperatives with regard to research. At the time of the final interviews, only two of the participants had a substantial publication portfolio and a PBRF rating of 'C' (the minimum to be considered research active) or above.

The different cultural and institutional context in which the teacher educators were each working meant that the levels of institutional support each received in order to do research also varied considerably. At the time, only two of them had any substantial time recognised in their formal workload for research, and only two expressed real ease with their roles as researchers at this stage of their career. Most felt conflicted and pressured about the competing demands research was placing on them, particularly as it vied for time and priority with the more familiar comfort-zone activities of teaching and service and the formal workloads that these carried.

While most of the group had or were engaging in research with a curriculum area focus, they had a clear conception that the research that they valued was research with a clear connection to practice - either the practice of teachers in schools, or their own practice as teacher educators. In this respect, their ambivalence echoes the findings of number of studies in higher education more generally that have investigated the research/teaching nexus. Arguments advanced to persuade already busy teacher educators of the value of researching, rather than merely using research to inform teaching, often include the claim that conducting research improves the quality of teaching, that it lends intellectual authority to teaching, and that good lecturers can bring research to life (Coates, Barnett, & Williams, 2001). However, the empirical research on the relationship between teaching and research in higher education is, at best, contradictory (Robertson, 2002). Hattie and Marsh's (1996) meta-analysis of 58 studies in higher education, for example, found no causal relationship between research

outputs and improved teaching. Indeed, Ramsden and Moses (1992) suggest that the common belief that research and teaching are beneficially connected is a myth. It is, at least, contestable that improving capability or output as an empirical researcher necessarily improves quality of practice as a teacher. Nevertheless, the pressure for the teacher educators to be more research-active than they currently were was a reality for all them, and indeed a priority expectation in all their institutions.

Service

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, the scope of the term ‘service’ as a descriptor of some of the key tasks of teacher education has been rarely problematised in the literature (Neumann & Terosky, 2007), but it is a descriptor that lay at the heart of the conception of their work held by the teacher educators in this study, and at the heart of their sense of professional identity. All held a broader and more complex conceptualisation of the service role than that implied in most of the literature, where the concept seems to centre largely around internal administrative responsibilities, such as committee work or collegial professional development. Moreover, the group’s conceptualisation seemed to be broader or more complex than these, by virtue of having at least three identifiable characteristics:

- A broader description of *the scope and range of activity* that the group felt constituted teacher education as a ‘job’,
- More *outward looking in terms of the range of communities* with whom teacher educators interact and owe allegiance, and
- Constituting *community leadership* rather than simply support for, or connection with, those outside groups and communities.

Perhaps the factor that made the group’s concept of service *most* multi-faceted was the vast range of externally focused professional leadership activities they were engaged in and that they conceived of as service. Nearly all of them saw internal service to the institution as including committee participation and departmental administration. However, their definitions of this service function were not confined to these, nor were they their most valued forms of service. Almost all the group, for example, had maintained an ongoing commitment to their professional subject organisation over the years at both regional and national levels. For five of them, this involvement had included a significant amount of national leadership activity in respect of curriculum development and assessment reform, as members of various influential national advisory groups, and/or taking on directly contracted

work. Conceptualising these service roles as an integral part of their job may have been an assumption that they brought with them from their schools when appointed to their original teacher educator positions, but it had remained a self-imposed part of the blueprint for their job descriptions.

Perhaps it is the relatively small size of New Zealand that made it easier for the participants to develop a national leadership profile as teacher educators. Nevertheless, their ‘willingness’ to continue giving priority to maintaining such profiles in the wider educational community and to accede to demands to take on ‘more’ activities, most notably research, had exacerbated their sense of dilemma and created additional challenges regarding their sense of their own professional status, professional allegiances, and core ‘work’ values.

Their notion of service, moreover, was not reducible to a list of professional actions, however wide-ranging such a list might be. It was also, in effect, a value proposition closely linked to their core values and beliefs about what it means to be a teacher or a teacher educator, and the complex system of ethical allegiances to different communities of practice that this conception entails. While on the one hand they saw service as an intellectual commitment to a discipline or body of knowledge or to administration or leadership *within* the institution, on the other hand, they also saw it as more than this. All expressed a strong pastoral commitment to service to students, to an ethic of care (Noddings, 1984, 1992), and to ‘doing good’ for other people in the profession generally. Their notion of service thus embraced a plethora of both allegiances and activities done on behalf of and for the good of a variety of others, and they demonstrated this commitment through their work, above load if necessary, by delivering professional development and support to teachers in schools, by undertaking regular voluntary work on regional and national subject associations, by giving priority to pastoral care for the pre-service student teachers in their classes, by providing professional development for their teacher educator colleagues, and by working engaging in high-level curriculum and assessment policy development at national level.

In the previous chapter, *On Becoming*, I suggested that aspects of teacher educators’ professional identity can be evoked through a discussion of their prior career histories, their occupational goals and motivations, and their first impressions of the job. In this chapter, *On Doing*, I have suggested that further aspects of this identity can be illuminated by documenting and discussing how they conceived the scope of the job of teacher educator, the range of professional tasks they saw it encompassing, and the relative priorities they assigned to these tasks relative to their ‘job description’.

This discussion shows that their prior career histories had led to their forming a conception of life as a teacher educator as one that was fundamentally still about life as a ‘teacher’, to establishing their motivations for doing this work as a matter of ‘moving up by moving out’ of their school contexts, and to finding that their first impressions of the role were ones characterised by ‘identity shock’ and a strong sense of having to ‘learn by doing’. This discussion, of how they defined the scope of their job descriptions and the priorities they assigned to respective tasks within it, indicates that they saw the job as encompassing a wide and ever diversifying scope of activities that made the job a more complex, a more intensified, and a ‘bigger’ one than either that of ‘school teacher’ or that of ‘academic’.

In describing the scope of their professional activities, the teacher educators did not deal with simple “dual mandates”, as expressed in over-neat binaries of research versus teaching, theory versus practice, and the like. Instead, they talked of dealing in their jobs with what I believe are better described as ‘multiple mandates’. Their conceptualisation of teacher education as a job was thus all of the following:

- *Comprehensive and expansive*, in that it included a wide range of professional activities well beyond what they had experienced as school teachers;
- *Inclusive*, in that it encompassed ‘service’ to a wide range of ‘professional communities’ both inside and, even more so, outside, the academy (students, teacher educator colleagues, teacher colleagues, school principals, and so on); and
- *Ethical*, in the sense of reflecting a strong commitment to pastoral functions and an ethic of care towards the people and groups they simultaneously ‘led’ and ‘served’.

Their conceptualisation was also one that tended to be *additive* or cumulative. In this respect, the conceptualisation highlighted the considerable sense of tension and mismatch that emerges from the interviews, especially the mismatch they often identified between the priorities they themselves assigned to different aspects of their own work and the priorities they saw their institutions assigning to that same work, between the scope of the tasks as they defined them themselves and the scope of the tasks that they saw their institutions endorsing and valuing, and between the things they volunteered to do and saw as part of their job without institutional reward and the aspects and activities that were recompensed and formalised as their ‘legitimate’ job.

INTERLUDE: ON KNOWING - TEACHER EDUCATORS' EXPERTISE

I Am The Very Model of a Modern Teacher Educator

Excerpt from: '*From Practice to Perfect?*' A Comic Opera in Two Careers

Words © Ronnie Davey & Vince Ham 2004²¹
(With apologies to *Gilbert & Sullivan*)

I am the very model of a modern teacher educator
Used to be a 'lecturer' but now I'm a 'facilitator'
Running an encounter group instead of a tutorial
Trying to replace transmission models professorial

But when I then write articles in Babylonian cuneiform
So jargon-filled and hard to read and largely practice-uninformed
Or de- and re-construct the politics of academe and such,
Will I have thus enhanced my reputation and esteem so much?

In fact, when I know what is meant by 'self-phenomenology'
When I can differentiate my id from my ontology
When I indulge in (self)research and (auto)reflectology
Will then I know precisely what's my true epistemology?

When I have learned the progress made in parenthetical punnery
And more of 'auto-practice' than a novice in a nunnery
And then when I have mastery of language obfuscatory
Will I have reached the pinnacle of teacher-educatory?

I'll know the latest thinkers and I'll quote them unrelentingly
From Foucault through to Derrida, discuss them circumventingly
In short, when I've achieved the rank of literary cogitator
Have I S-STEPped up to be: 'POST-modern' teacher educator?

I'll quote the likes of Loughran, Russell, Griffith, Mills and Allender
And have their photos mounted proudly posing on my calendar
I'll fill my work with references to Korthagen and Hamilton
Cite Pinnegar and Samaras, and Whitehead (1991)

I'll boldly measure my gestalt in 'dialectal distances'
And know my way around myself through angulated instances
I'll truly be the model of a modern educationist
Who draws on all the theories (except, of course, behaviourist)

²¹ This song was presented at the 5th International Conference on Self-Study of Teacher Education Practices, Herstmonceux Castle, UK, 2004. The New Zealand postscript has been added to reflect the idea of two different pathways taken towards the evolution of a teacher educator professional identity, as discussed in Chapter 4.

But will I then be locked in towers ivory and dreamier
 Than anything conceived when teaching children with anaemia
 And can I use the discourse, both the simple and intractable,
 And still be well acquainted too with matters much more practical?

'Cause out in schools on practicum I'm really in my element
 I scaffold to the students' zones of proximal development.
 But all they want is management, the handy hint, the practical ...
 And that requires me to be extremely smart and tactical.

With my new wave and inclusive methods, active and constructivist
 I try reflexion with them, but they still act 'the instructivist'
 "No concepts theoretical"? I'm really in a stew.
 "Don't give me tasks developmental. Tell me what to do!"

In short, 'cause I've renewed myself, I've studied and reviewed myself,
 Am I the very model of a modern teacher educator now?

A New Zealand postscript

Am I the very model of a neo-liberal educator?
 Now that I'm a 'lecturer' instead of a 'facilitator'?
 Once ran interactive groups, but now it's a tutorial
 Relishing my new transmission models professorial...

CHAPTER 6. ON KNOWING: TEACHER EDUCATORS' EXPERTISE

If it is a truism that to teach, teachers must engage knowledge, it is also right to observe that as the new century unfolds, there is little in our field of teacher education as to what knowledge matters or even what might be the matter of knowledge. (Britzman, 2000, p. 200)

Knowledge and Expertise as Elements of a Professional Identity

According to Bourdieu, a key feature of the 'habitus' of an occupational group is the particular knowledge and expertise which pertains to that occupation. Sachs (2005, p. 15) describes teachers' identity as "their own ideas of 'how to be', 'how to act', and 'how to understand' their work". Beijaard, Meijer, and Verloop (2004, p. 108) describe it as "what teachers themselves find important in their professional work", and Lasky (2005, p. 901) as "how teachers define themselves to themselves and to others". Implicit in all these descriptions is the idea that expert knowledge is central to a group's professional identity. It is a key part of what binds individual selves into a recognisable occupational group, and of what helps distinguish them from other occupational groups. This chapter focuses on what the teacher educators in the study regarded as their particular professional knowledge and proficiencies: on what they felt they needed to 'know' and to 'be able to do' in order to be effective as teacher educators, and what constituted their concept of a teacher educator's distinctive expertise.

The knowledge base and expertise of teaching and teachers

Based on the assumption that such an entity exists (Tom & Valli, 1990), many studies over the last two decades have attempted to identify or define the knowledge base/s of school teachers and school teaching. These studies of school teacher knowledge (what teachers need to know and be able to do in order to teach students) have, in turn, influenced the nature of the curricula and pedagogies of teacher education programmes (what teacher educators need to teach and to know and be able to do in order to teach teachers).

Early debates centred on critiquing or endorsing a 'technical rationality' view of teaching as the development of practical skills or craft knowledge, but led to little consensus as various researchers attempted to identify the nature of such professional knowledge and how it is developed and differentiated. Shulman (1986) noted an early focus on defining

teachers' knowledge in terms of content knowledge or subject matter. However, over time, the research agenda on teacher knowledge and the practice of preservice teacher education both shifted to focus on more general pedagogical knowledge and instructional strategies, at the expense of content (Cochrane, DeRuiter, & King, 1993).

Shulman's work identifying the various knowledges he saw as essential for teaching has been particularly influential. He highlighted several domains within a teacher's knowledge base: *content knowledge of a subject or subjects*; *curriculum knowledge*, including the materials and programs that serve as 'tools of the trade'; *knowledge of learners and their characteristics*; *knowledge of educational contexts*; *knowledge of educational ends, purposes, and values, and their philosophical and historical grounds*; and *general pedagogical knowledge*, with special reference to broad principles and strategies of classroom management and organisation that appear to transcend subject matter. Finally, he is best known, perhaps, for coining the term and identifying *pedagogical content knowledge* (PCK) - "that special amalgam of content and pedagogy that is uniquely the province of teachers, their own special form of professional understanding and comprises the ability of the teacher to transform what they know, taking account of the learner and the context, into representations and presentations that make sense to their students" (Shulman, 1987, p. 8).

In this and subsequent work, there is growing acknowledgement that teaching has its own distinctive and idiosyncratic knowledge base and structures, that these are embedded in practice, integrated, multi-faceted and intensely responsive to the uncertainty and unpredictability of the classroom (Fenstermacher, 1994), and that their professional warrants are often experientially formed, tacit and unarticulated (Calderhead & Robson, 1991; Eraut, 1994).

Other researchers, such as Elbaz (1983), sought to understand the nature of teachers' 'practical knowledge', in particular seeing it in terms of an integration of values, beliefs, and (cognitive) knowledge, including "student's learning styles, interests, needs, strengths and difficulties" (p. 5). This practical knowledge also includes knowledge of instructional techniques, classroom management skills, and school and community cultures, as well as current theories of subject matter, child development and learning. Her work shares similarities with Clandinin and Connelly's, in which they describe these unique teachers' knowledge bases as personal practical knowledge (Clandinin, 1985; Connelly & Clandinin, 1997). Van Manen (1999) highlights a further dimension of this knowledge in practice when he describes it as the *non-cognitive knowing* of teachers, much of which is tacit and inextricably integrated into a teacher's instinctive ways of doing things and their holistic

rather than analytic ways of understanding the act of teaching. Moreover, its unconscious, intuitive, and intertwined nature may make it difficult to put into words (Zanting, Verloop, Vermunt, & Van Driel, 1998).

Fenstermacher (1994) talks of these differences as being between formal and practical knowledge. Others identify and argue for other types of knowledge, including culturally relevant knowledge (Ladson-Billings, 1995), professional knowledge (Tom & Valli, 1990), knowledge-in-action (Schön, 1983), pedagogical content knowledge (Shulman, 1987), case knowledge (Shulman, 1992), reflective knowledge (Zeichner, 1983), and so on.

Brown and McIntyre (1993) and Shimahara's (1998) 'professional craft knowledge' refers to a specific component of knowledge that is mainly the product of the teacher's practical experience, whereas Carter (1990) describes 'action-oriented knowledge' as knowledge for immediate use in teaching practice. Others highlight the contribution to teacher knowledge made by reflection on experience (Grimmett & MacKinnon, 1992; Gunstone, 1999; Loughran, 2002; Richert, 1995), further developing Donald Schön's conception of reflective practice and his concepts of knowledge-in-action, reflecting-in-action and reflecting-on-action.

Despite such variations in emphasis and labelling, most of these researchers conceive of teachers' professional knowledge as more than simply propositional knowledge, or knowing 'that', and include a significant component of procedural knowledge, or knowing 'how'. Most acknowledge that such comprehensive professional knowledge is not something which is learned from the book or the lecture. It is more likely to be constructed over time from experience. It is "knowledge arising out of action or experience that is grounded in this same action or experience" (Fenstermacher, 1994, pp. 13 - 14)

Researchers engaged in other studies link the types of knowledge that teachers need and the best locations for learning them. Some argue, for example, that propositional knowledge, or 'knowing that', is the business of the teacher education that is based in the academy, and that procedural knowledge or 'knowing how' is better placed in the school. Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1999b) distinguish these two commonly held conceptions of knowledge as *knowledge-for-practice*, which is the more formalised, research-generated knowledge of the academy, intended to inform and improve teacher practice, and *knowledge-in-practice*, which is the practical or craft knowledge embedded in teacher practice and acquired through enquiry and reflection on and in practice in schools. They also propose a third, more generative, conception, *knowledge-of-practice*, which involves teachers

themselves in the process of research and theory-making, thus integrating the two otherwise distinct knowledge types:

The basis of this knowledge-of-practice conception is that teachers across their professional life span play a critical role in generating knowledge of practice by naming their classrooms sites for enquiry, connecting their work in schools to larger issues and taking a critical perspective on the theory and research of others. (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1999, p. 273)

Clandinin and Connelly (2000) also differentiate between what they call *knowledge for teachers* and *teacher knowledge*. Underpinning the former is an assumption of knowledge as possession, “held and performed by people in ‘objective’ ways” (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 90), something that needs constant updating, and which accumulates. *Knowledge for teachers* is something “that teachers can acquire and know” (p. 92). But the authors also argue for an alternative, *teacher knowledge*, as a form of knowledge that comes from and is embedded in experience, learned in context, and expressed in practice. This kind of knowledge is termed *personal practical knowledge* (Clandinin, 1985), an idea developed into the broader concept of professional knowledge landscapes (Clandinin & Connelly, 1995). In order to access and research teachers’ unique knowledge without using methods that “distort, destroy or reconstruct this knowledge” (Fenstermacher, 1994, p. 11), Clandinin and Connelly adopted the techniques of narrative and story. Professional knowledge is thus seen through image and in narrative terms and is shaped by a teacher’s social and physical environment or context, but is still a combination of both those narratives and those contexts (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000).

Work on ‘expertise’ in teaching also has implications for shaping how teacher educators think about their own professional knowledge. Berliner’s (2001) research into the knowledge bases of expert teachers, for example, highlights the ways in which expertise is both culturally relative and contextual, and shows that teachers’ working environments and conditions are powerful influences on their sense of effectiveness. His propositions about expertise in teaching extend purely propositional conceptualisations of teacher knowledge. Expert teachers not only demonstrate excellence in their own subject domain and particular contexts, but also include in their repertoire a range of skills, such as automaticity, flexibility and sensitivity to task demand and social situations, an ability to perceive more meaningful patterns in the domain in which they are experienced, and an ability to draw on more personal

and richer sources of information when problem-solving. Sternberg and Horvath (1995) summarise these non-propositional dimensions of teacher expertise as:

- *Knowledge* - held in distinctly complex operational schemata and often tacit in nature;
- *Efficiency* - because tasks take less time to complete, teachers are able to attend to problem-solving and higher levels of reasoning; and
- *Insight* - which enables them to identify, process, and problem-solve effectively and appropriately.

I should note that dominating western conceptions of teacher knowledge, such as those discussed so far, do not account for cultural differences in what counts as knowledge. In the Aotearoa New Zealand context, Māori researchers such as Bishop, Glynn, and Macfarlane propose alternative concepts of teacher knowledge that “reflect more appropriately values, beliefs and preferred practices that are embodied within an indigenous Māori cultural worldview (Te Ao Māori). Within such a world view, education is understood as holistic, collective, experiential and dependent upon a free exchanging of teaching and learning roles” (Macfarlane, Glynn, Grace, Penetito, & Bateman, 2008, p. 105). Large-scale Aotearoa New Zealand research projects, such as Te Kotahitanga (Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh, & Teddy, 2007; Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai, & Richardson, 2003) and AIMHI (Hawk & Hill, 1996), re-emphasise the relationship elements of the act of teaching. Knowing how to teach is predominantly about knowing who you are teaching and about understanding and respecting the cultural values of learners and all that these imply (Bishop, 2005; Bishop & Glynn, 2003).

In summary, while there are obvious differences in how teacher knowledge is described, more recent research relating to the knowledge or expertise question has shifted the focus away from studying teacher behaviour alone, to studying and theorising the cognitions and beliefs underlying that behaviour, and the social relationship aspects of the teaching role. Most of this body of work shares a common recognition of the social complexity and context specificity of teachers’ professional knowledge and the ways in which it is integrated into teachers’ practice. In their outlining of the links between self-study and teacher education reform, Korthagen and Lunenberg (2004) sum up these shifts in our very conception of professional knowledge as shifts from a focus on expert propositional knowledge to an emphasis on the authority of practice and action, from a focus on academic theory to an emphasis on personal practical theory, and from a focus on generalisation to a focus on unique situations and contexts.

Such perspectives position the ‘teacher as knowledge creator’ at the centre of the knowledge debate and raise perplexing questions about the place and status of formal knowledge as the traditional mainstay of teacher education programmes, about the place of developing teachers’ practical knowledge in any teacher education ‘curriculum’, and about how the two might be successfully integrated so as to be made accessible for students of teaching. While most researchers who take this position would accept that a combination of theoretical and practical knowledge is necessarily involved - that is, some ‘knowing that’ and some ‘knowing how’ (Thiessen, 2000; Verloop, Van Driel, & Meijer, 2001) - there is a growing acknowledgement of the need for teacher education programmes to address not just knowledge as content but also knowledge as experience and knowledge as a set of professional skills, attitudes, understandings, and dispositions. These researchers also raise equally perplexing questions about what distinctive knowledge or expertise is therefore required of *teacher educators* if they are to implement such a curriculum and themselves to ‘teach’ such a mix of content, abilities and dispositions. Given this near paradigmatic shift in our conception of the nature of schoolteacher knowledge and expertise, what additional, or different, abilities, knowledge, and expertise might we now use to distinguish quality teacher educating from quality school teaching?

The knowledge base and expertise of teacher education and teacher educators

Although many preservice programs are based on particular views of what constitutes an effective teacher, no single unifying theory of teacher education currently exists (Goodlad, 1998; Schwartz, 1996). Theorists and researchers in teacher education disagree with each other on what student teachers need to know and the best way to help them develop that knowledge (Hargreaves & Jacka, 1995; Jackson & Leroy, 1998). Attempts to legitimate particular kinds of teaching and to advance projects in teacher education do so in a context with little or no consensus (Dunleavy, 1996). (Volante & Earl, 2002, pp. 419–420)

The curricula of teacher education as its knowledge base

While there is thus a growing literature around *teacher* knowledge and expertise, how it is developed and/or acquired, its problematic nature, its complexities, and its context-specificity, there is rather less around the existence or nature of a similarly special or distinctive *teacher educator* knowledge and expertise. The reason is partly because there is little international consensus on what the knowledge base for teacher education, as

exemplified, for example, in the curricula of teacher education programmes, should be, and even less on what the consequent nature of *teacher educator* expertise is, or should be, and what *teacher educators* need to know and do in order to develop professional knowledge in others (Cochran-Smith, 2005; Feiman-Nemser & Remillard, 1996; Goodlad, 1998; Hargreaves & Jacka, 1995). Kincheloe (2004, p. 49) states the issue thus:

What types of knowledges should professional educators possess? In a climate as hostile as the first decade of the twenty-first century the ability of teacher educators to articulate a case for particular knowledges is not merely important, it may just be a survival skill. In its devaluation, pedagogy has been rendered invisible in many higher educational settings. Teacher educators, teachers, and teacher education students must not only understand the complexity of good teaching, but stand ready to make this known to political leaders and the general population.

Such ambiguity and uncertainty about what constitutes the distinctive knowledge base of the expert teacher educator may exist partly because there is little commonality in the content and structure of teacher education programmes worldwide, and it may exist partly because it, too, has been largely tacit in nature, grounded in experience, and little theorised.

There have been broadly two attempts to address this gap and to summarise or synthesise research about what we as *teacher educators*, specifically, know or need to know to be effective as such. One of these is based in a discussion of the implications for teacher education curriculums of the debate focused on what teachers and student teachers need to know and be able to do; the other is based in the broader implications of various self-study accounts of individual teacher educators' pedagogical practices, contexts, and professional orientations.

Two knowledge-based books on teaching and teacher education published by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (Murray, 1996; Reynolds, 1989), and three handbooks of research on teacher education compiled by the Association of Teacher Educators (Cochran-Smith, Feiman-Nemser, McIntyre, & Demers, 2008; Houston, Haberman, & Sikula, 1990; Sikula, Buttery, & Guyton, 1996), and another sponsored by the National Academy of Education (Darling-Hammond & Bransford, 2005), for example, have added to the thinking about teacher educator knowledge bases in the US. However, on the few occasions when teacher educators are the focus of discussion, little attention is paid to how they learn or what they know or need to know in order to teach teachers. For the most

part, the chapters in these publications tend to address the knowledge base of teacher education as a matter of defining a *curriculum* for teacher education programmes, rather than as a matter of the professionalisation of teacher educators and articulating their ‘place’ in the academy, or as a matter of defining what might constitute quality or ability in the provision of teacher education.

Feiman-Nemser and Remillard (1996), in their chapter in *The Teacher Educator's Handbook: Building a Knowledge Base for the Preparation of Teachers*, problematise the various discourses and research on what we know about the knowledge/s of teacher education. They identify the many complex and disputed domains of knowledge that students of teaching need to know: in other words, the ‘whats’ of teaching. In particular, they argue that prior knowledge is central to students’ success, and that the background, beliefs, learning orientations, and experience with diversity of the student teacher learners themselves must be a prime consideration for teacher educators. Others argue that subject-matter knowledge remains a central component in teacher education (Grossman, Wilson, & Shulman, 1989), along with subject-specific pedagogy (Grossman & Schoenfeld, 2005; McDiarmid, Ball, & Anderson, 1989), tasks and strategies for teaching (Reynolds, 1992), and professional standards.

Reflecting the current reform agenda, a comprehensive international publication on teacher education - *Studying Teacher Education: The Report of the AERA Panel on Research and Teacher Education* (Cochran-Smith & Zeichner, 2005) - has added to the debate on teacher quality and quality teacher education. The second volume of this publication (Darling-Hammond & Bransford, 2005, p. i) “examines the core concepts and central pedagogies that should be at the heart of any teacher education program ... and does not try to cover all curriculum content that people may argue is desirable in pre-service programmes” currently taught in US teacher education programmes; “rather it focuses on content considered essential based on strong professional consensus and on research evidence”. These include professional and curricular areas, including teaching diverse learners; subject content matter; enhancing language skills; assessment and classroom management; theories of learning and how teachers learn; and educational programme design.

Other scholars critique curricula that are based on narrow, reductive, and instrumentalist policies about teaching, and that appear to reduce teacher expertise to a fixed body of content, as marginalising large proportions of learners and, in effect, *de*-professionalising teacher education in the guise of *re*-professionalising it. For example,

Leistyna, Lavadenz, and Nelson (2004) call for a revitalising and democratising of teacher education through modelling and developing in student teachers a 'critical pedagogy'. Kincheloe (2004), too, urges a social justice agenda, and a teacher education based on a solid foundation in both mainstream and alternative canons of knowledge. The development of what he calls a 'critical complex epistemology' in teacher education programmes includes detailed attention to educational contexts; the historical forces that have shaped the purposes of schooling; the ways dominant power uses schools for anti-democratic ideological self-interest; how all this relates to the effort to develop a democratic, transformative pedagogy; and the specific ways all these knowledges relate to transformative classroom teaching in general and to specific subject domains in particular (p. 51). In such a meta-epistemological construction, the educational knowledge base proposed involves recognition of different types of knowledges, including, but not limited to, empirical, experiential, normative, critical, ontological, and reflective-synthetic, each of which Kincheloe discusses in detail. The concept of teachers as researchers of their own educational contexts and practices is an equally important corollary of this critical complex practice.

Other work that concentrates on the development of big picture conceptual models for teacher education programme development includes that of Cochran, DeRuiter, and King (1993). They suggest a framework for teacher education based on pedagogical content knowing (PCKg), a refinement of Shulman's pedagogical content knowledge (PCK). They argue that if the construction of teacher understanding is to be situated in specific contexts, then teacher preparation must also occur in contexts that promote active, simultaneous learning about all components of teaching. This process would involve conceptually integrated instruction across courses, and would provide multiple opportunities to teach, observe, and reflect on both one's own teaching and that of others in a content area. The authors conclude that case studies, peer coaching, cooperative classroom methods, hypermedia, micro-teaching, and team teaching all especially promote the development of such PCKg.

Bransford, Darling-Hammond, and LePage (2005) propose a conceptual framework model that identifies the key areas teacher educators would be expected to address and articulate positions on in their programmes. These include knowledge of *learners* and how they *learn and develop* within social contexts; conceptions of *curriculum content and goals* (an understanding of the subject matter and skills to be taught in light of the social purposes of education); and an understanding of *teaching* in light of the content and learners to be taught (original emphasis). In her discussion of the characteristics of effective programmes,

Darling-Hammond (2006) similarly argues that teacher educators need to build and design programmes that help prospective teachers develop highly refined knowledge and skills for assessing student learning, a wide repertoire of practices that effect goal accomplishment, a deeper knowledge base than ever about teaching for diverse learners, and skills and dispositions for ongoing classroom enquiry centred on problems of practice.

Hoban (2004) also argues for a more integrated and dynamic approach to designing teacher education, proposing “a four-dimensional conceptual framework to guide teacher education design. The four dimensions include: (a) links across the university-based curriculum; (b) links between schools and university experiences; (c) socio-cultural links between participants; and (d) personal links that shape the identity of teacher educators” (p. 117).

In one attempt to codify and synthesise the various conceptual frameworks operating in US teacher education programmes, Feiman-Nemser (1990) identified five common ‘conceptual orientations’ - “a set of ideas about the goals of teacher preparation and the means for achieving them” (p. 17) - towards teacher education current in US teacher education programmes at that time. She described these programme level orientations as:

- *An academic orientation*, emphasising the transmission of knowledge and development of understanding, the teacher’s role as intellectual leader, scholar, subject-matter specialist, and stressing the importance of teachers’ academic preparation;
- *A practical orientation*, endorsing the primacy of experience as a source of knowledge about teaching and as a means of learning to teach, and focusing on elements of craft, technique, and artistry that skilful practitioners reveal and that have been long associated with apprenticeship models;
- *A technological orientation*, focusing attention on the accumulation and application of scientific knowledge and acquiring the knowledge, skills, principles, and practices derived from the scientific study of teaching and preparing teachers to carry out the tasks of teaching with proficiency;
- *A personal orientation*, construing learning to teach as a process of learning where both teacher and learners learn to understand, develop, and use themselves effectively; and
- *A critical/social orientation*, combining a progressive social vision with a radical critique of schooling, where teacher education is part of a larger strategy to create a more just and democratic society.

The fifth orientation sees the teacher as an educator and a political activist, who creates and promotes democratic values and practices within a learning community.

Earlier researchers have articulated similar sets of conceptual orientations. For example, Joyce (1975) identified a similar group of five programme types - academic, traditional, competency, personalistic, and progressive. Hartnett and Naish (1980) included craft technological and critical, Zeichner (1983) featured academic, craft, behaviouristic, personalistic, and inquiry, and Zimpher and Howey (1987) considered clinical, technical, personal, and critical.

Thus, while comparatively few studies attempt to unpack the particular expert knowledge of the *teacher educator* per se, the literature on conceptual frameworks operating in teacher education and research on exemplary programmes or programme models imply at least something about a desirable teacher educator knowledge base. Such researchers often argue for coherent, well-articulated conceptual frameworks that serve to unite the all-too-often disparate components of current teacher education programmes. But we can also see their proposed conceptual frameworks as a proxy for their conception of the core knowledge base of teacher education, and as the “medium through which institutions foreground those ideas, theories and understandings that they view as most important in the preparation of beginning teachers” (Kane, 2005, p. 221).

This new literature emerging around effective and exemplary teacher education programmes clearly has implications for the ‘what’ of teacher education. But it also has implications for the ‘how’, and, more importantly, for *how* the traditional gaps between theory-oriented and practice-oriented conceptions and cultures of teacher education might be successfully bridged or integrated by the teacher educators responsible for providing them. While such typologies tend to characterise teacher education *programmes*, they nonetheless, by extrapolation and inference, imply some of the attitudes, orientations, pedagogies, abilities, and knowledges that might be required of the teacher educators who implement such programmes. This consideration is particularly the case with respect to the group of researchers who, on the basis of their studies, advocate a curriculum framework for teacher education based not so much on its content as on its pedagogy.

As a result of rethinking the relationship between theory and practice in order to reduce the gap between them, Korthagen and Kessels (1999) present what they call a new *pedagogy* of teacher education, a pedagogy that is based on the Aristotelian concepts of episteme and phronesis in order to introduce a new and holistic way of framing teacher knowledge and of describing the relationship between teacher cognition and behaviour. Through their concept

of ‘realistic teacher education’, Korthagen and Kessels define episteme as “theory with a big T”, or generalised, research-based, “objective” knowledge. Phronesis, or “theory with a small t”, however, is more perceptual than conceptual. It is about *discovering* which methods to use in the specific, context-based, idiosyncratic situations that happen in teaching, rather than logically applying a set of pre-taught methods to practise. While acknowledging ‘realistic teacher education’ as an integration of several older approaches, the authors suggest that rather than taking the traditional approach of starting with episteme and assuming it will transfer to practice, teacher educators may need a whole new set of professional competencies if they are to work more flexibly and take account of student teachers’ phronesis as a *starting* point for their work.

Rathgen (2000) takes a similarly transformative view of teacher education in her discussion of a feminist pedagogy for teacher education. She advocates the adoption of a critical stance and the importance of understanding the links between personal autobiographical experiences and the historical, social, and political activities that frame and construct teacher education. Like Cochran-Smith (2004), Kincheloe (2004), Leistyna et al. (2004), and others, she advocates a social justice agenda for teacher education programmes that would necessarily require an almost paradigmatically different pedagogy from that which is historically typical of academic teaching in other fields. As a New Zealand teacher educator working within an institution historically dominated by the more practical/technological orientations, Rathgen argues explicitly for a more transparently theorised foundation for the work of teacher educators, and implicitly for teacher education curriculums framed more around an embodied pedagogy than lists of taught content, prescribed ‘best practices’, and technical skills.

The pedagogy of teacher education as specialist expertise

It could be that this special knowledge of teaching about teaching is tacit knowledge, knowledge that is easily overlooked by others, taken for granted by teacher educators themselves, and consequently neither sufficiently understood nor valued. (Loughran, 1997a, p. 4)

What, then, constitutes the distinctive knowledge or abilities of teacher educators, beyond that which is implicit in the taught curriculums or conceptual orientations of particular institutions’ teacher education programmes? What, to adapt Darling-Hammond and Bransford’s (2005) volume title, should teacher educators ‘learn and be able to do’ beyond what school teachers need to learn and be able to do?

Becoming a teacher educator (or teacher of teachers) has the potential (not always realised) to generate a second level of thought about teaching, one that focuses not (just) on content but on how we teach - what Russell (1997) calls “making ‘*the pedagogical turn*’, thinking long and hard about how we teach and the messages conveyed by how we teach (p. 44, original emphasis). In her discussion of a curriculum for beginning teacher educators, Lunenberg (2002) highlights four ‘extra’ professional qualities that teacher educators seem to have in addition to merely being good teachers: (i) understanding student teachers as adult learners; (ii) being able to bridge the gap between theory and practices; (iii) using the congruence principle (i.e., being able to explain and discuss their own “general pedagogical and didactical approaches” (p. 267)); and (iv) reflecting on two levels, by which she means they are able to reflect on their own practices *and* to develop reflective competence in student teachers.

The international move towards developing professional standards for teachers has inevitably impacted on programmes and curricula for teacher education and, in the case of the Netherlands, for example, standards for teacher educators themselves. Koster and Dengerink (2001) discuss the two-fold purpose of the professional standards for Dutch teacher educators, namely, professional development and external accountability. The authors highlight the dilemmas inherent in developing standards around such issues as quantity, specificity, length, and longevity. Included are standards for content competencies, pedagogical competencies, organisational competencies, group dynamics and communicative competencies, and development and personal-growth competencies.

Comparing standards from Dutch, American, Australian, and Israeli contexts, Smith (2005) attempted to unpack the expertise of teacher educators by investigating the characteristics and professional knowledge base of good teacher educators. She argued that teacher educators are expected to be expert pedagogues, knowledge creators, active contributors, and leaders within and outside the institution, in pre and in-service education. They are also expected to be active generators of their own ongoing personal professional development and that of others. For example, as expert pedagogues, teacher educators are expected to be model teachers with the ability to articulate tacit knowledge of teaching and to bring practical experiences to a theoretical level. From the findings of this small-scale study of 40 novice teachers and 18 teacher educators, Smith also posited that the professional expertise of teacher educators differs from teachers’ professional expertise in relation to articulation of reflectivity and meta-cognition; quality of knowledge; knowledge of how to create new knowledge; teaching children and adults; comprehensive understanding of the

educational system; and professional maturity and autonomy.

From his case studies of six teacher educators, John (2002), too, attempts to decipher, the often tacit nature of the knowledge that teacher educators hold. He suggests several dimensions characterise their practical professional knowledge:

- *Intentionality*, the deliberate development of their student teachers' strategic judgement, reflective capacities and insights, and decision-making skills;
- *Practicality ethic*, fostering their belief in the power of practical action to bring change;
- *Subject specificity*, views of their subject as paradigm and pedagogy; and
- *Ethicality*, which takes the forms of pluralist ethics (reflected in the way they respond to diversity and direct students to use their own principles and experience as a guide), professional ethics (based on the concrete realities of schools), and an ethic of caring.

Cochran-Smith (2003) sees the way that teacher educators work - their 'stance' - as a critically distinctive aspect of their pedagogy.

What we need in teacher education are not better generic strategies for teaching but generative ways for prospective teachers, experienced teachers and teacher educators alike to work together in communities of learners - to explore and reconsider their own assumptions, understand the values and practices of families and cultures that are different than their own, and construct pedagogy that takes these into account in locally appropriate and culturally sensitive ways. (p. 24)

Noting the growing number of new and experienced teacher educators around the world engaged in various forms of professional enquiry, Cochran-Smith (2003, p. 9) suggests that the education of teacher educators themselves is "substantially enriched when inquiry is regarded as a stance on the overall enterprise of teacher education and when teacher educators inquire collaboratively about assumptions and values, professional knowledge and practice, the contexts of schools as well as higher education, and their own as well as their student's learning" Such a stance leads to a reconceptualisation of the role of teacher educator as a "role [that] privileges neither scholarship nor practice but depends instead on a rich dialectic of the two wherein the lines between professional practice in teacher education, on the one hand, and research relating to teaching and teacher education, on the other, are increasingly blurred" (p. 9). The notion of stance, she argues, is an intellectual endeavour, "a way of questioning - making sense of, and connecting one's day-to-day work to the work of others and larger social, historical, cultural and political contexts" (p. 21).

Clarke and Erikson (2004) also argue for an inquiry stance, but from a different angle. Building on Schwab's four commonplaces of classroom practice - the teacher, the student, the milieu, and the subject matter - they suggest that a fifth commonplace, self-study, ought to be part of pedagogical practice in both teaching and teacher education. While recognising that self-study is not a new phenomenon in education, the authors argue that such a form of research fits with what Hargreaves terms the "post-modern phase" in education generally:

Now more than ever, it is imperative for teachers themselves to engage in systematic and sustained inquiry... for teaching to assume the mantle of a profession, there must be evidence that its members inquire into their own practice, into ways of improving and developing their teaching consistent with the unique contexts in which they work and the current research that pertains to their work as educators. (Clarke & Erickson, 2004, p. 200)

At the individual level, the growth of a literature about teacher educator pedagogy has been spearheaded by the self-study movement, which Zeichner (1999) referred to as (collectively) "the new scholarship in teacher education" (p. 8). Developed from the work of Dewey, Schön, and Schwab, and with links to the action research and reflective practice movements, the Self-Study in Teacher Education Practices (S-STEP) Special Interest Group (SIG) of AERA (American Educational Research Association) has, to date, hosted six international conferences and recently published a two-volume handbook about self-study in teacher education (Loughran, Hamilton, LaBoskey, & Russell, 2005). Several internationally-focused books have also contributed significantly to the discourse about how individual teacher educators develop their understandings, knowledge, pedagogy, and practice by attempting to make explicit the tacit nature of what they do and the principles and beliefs that underpin their own pedagogical practices (Aubusson & Schuck, 2006; Kosnik, Beck, Freese, & Samaras, 2005; Loughran & Russell, 1997, Pinnegar & Hamilton, 2009; Russell & Korthagen, 1995; Tidwell, Heston, & Fitzgerald, 2009).

By making their self-studies publicly available for critique, the aim of the SIG is to effect improvements in their own practice, to contribute to the body of knowledge about teacher educator pedagogy and practice, and to create a professional voice for teacher educators. For example, Loughran and Russell's (1997) edited book considers these questions: *Why teach teachers as you do? What principles underpin your practice? How do you know you make a difference?* Individual authors share their challenges as teacher educators and make explicit their own purposes and practices and the tacit beliefs that

underpin them (Bullough, 1997b; Chin, 1997; Hoban, 1997; Loughran, 1997b; Northfield & Gunstone, 1997; Richert, 1997; Guilfoyle, Hamilton, & Pinnegar, 1997).

Many of the themes collected in these mostly individual stories of practice were brought together in a work specifically dealing with an evolving specialist pedagogy of teacher education (Loughran, 2006). In this, Loughran explores the particular and peculiar challenge of teacher educators' work, which, he claims, "hinges around recognising, responding and managing the dual roles of teaching [content] *and* teaching about teaching concurrently" (p.11), that is, managing the complex dual role of teacher of teachers and learner of teaching that characterises the work of the teacher educator.

Loughran (2006) argues that, in developing their pedagogy, teacher educators must conceptualise their practice in ways that exceed content delivery: thus, 'teaching as telling', sharing bags of tricks, developing technical proficiency, and other teacher 'training' methods. The particular expertise of teacher educators, he implies, lies in knowing and applying ways of making accessible to students of teaching an understanding of the complex, dynamic, and problematic nature of teaching. The teacher educators' approach, he says, should be that of creating for their students pedagogical experiences that are purposeful - that challenge existing practice and create opportunities to develop new ones. Such a pedagogy involves confronting the assumptions that both teacher educators and their students have about teaching, so as to better align their actions with their beliefs. Emphasising teacher educators' disposition for risk-taking and exposing vulnerability, and their ability to make the *tacit* aspects of their own professional knowledge and pedagogical reasoning *explicit* and constantly available to students of teaching, Loughran presents a theory of teacher education pedagogy based on ongoing and mutual self-study. In such a pedagogy, paying attention to the student of teaching and not the content lies at the heart of things. The messy and uncomfortable ambiguities of teaching are exposed through explicit, articulated, and transparent practice, and through episteme and phronesis, theory and praxis, are closely and meaningfully integrated.

The Professional Knowledge and Expertise of the Teacher Educators in the Study

Given the lack of a unifying or agreed theory of teacher education - whether its curriculum or its pedagogy - and the fact that teacher education worldwide is being increasingly challenged to identify both its place in the academic world and what constitutes quality in its provision, where does this leave the individual teacher educator in determining the different knowledge

domains, skills, and dispositions they need in order to do the job effectively? What do *they* understand to be the particular knowledge base of teacher education, either as an academic discipline or as a professional practice? What professional theories do they espouse, and what mental models of quality and effectiveness in their chosen occupation shape their practice of it? What, in short, do they regard as their *expert identity* as teacher educators?

For all of the teacher educators in the study, what emerged from the interviews was a sense that teacher educators' professional knowledge is a complex, multi-faceted, idiosyncratic, and integrated amalgam or 'constellation' (Feiman-Nemser & Remillard, 1996) of personally and professionally constructed knowledges, dispositions, skills, attitudes, approaches, strategies, and ways of working that are consciously and unconsciously drawn on to promote student teacher and hence student learning. There was a strong sense for all the participants that a teacher educator's professional knowledge goes well beyond a mere command of content (knowing one's subject), and even well beyond a narrow notion of knowledge as a predominantly cognitive phenomenon (knowing as thinking or mental capacity). Instead, the notion is much broader, comprising a mix of content and process, theoretical and practical, personal and interpersonal knowledges, all derived from practice and experience as much as from 'books and theory'. Their concept was, moreover, a concept of specialist knowledge or expertise that is not only broader, more comprehensive, and more complex than that required of their teacher colleagues in schools, but also qualitatively different from that of their fellow academics within their institutions.

Six key themes emerged from the teacher educators' discussions of their expert knowledge. They described such knowledge as involving knowledge of content, but even more they talked of it as knowledge in action. They talked of their professional knowledge as embodied in their pedagogical process, in their situated decision-making, in their personal-professional philosophies, in their reflexive dispositions, and in their sense of the moral-ethical purpose. I characterise these below as 'knowing that', 'knowing how', 'knowing when', 'knowing why', 'knowing self', and 'knowing others'.

Knowing that: subject knowledge, knowledge of theory, and knowledge of the profession

The teacher educators identified three broad areas of propositional knowledge as central to their professional knowledge base. These comprised the "stuff", as several of them referred to it, which they (and their student teachers) needed to know *about*. As teacher educators, they needed a comprehensive content knowledge of their specialist subject, a conceptual

knowledge of a range of educational and pedagogical theories, and a working knowledge of schools, schooling, and the teaching profession generally.

Subject content knowledge

The most obvious, though not necessarily the most emphasised or most frequently mentioned, element of teacher educators' requisite professional knowledge that emerged from the interviews was a sound knowledge of a subject content or discipline area - the subject discipline and curriculum of English. The lack of emphasis/mention may have been because these were taken as 'givens'.

Each participant had originally entered teacher education with a secondary school English curriculum area specialism, underpinned by undergraduate or graduate degrees in their chosen area. They consequently talked of their need to know and understand the subject matter appropriate to their specialist learning area(s). They needed, they said, both a disciplinary knowledge of English - literature, language, media, and the like - and a knowledge of the English curriculum and its requirements, including the relevant curriculum documents of Aotearoa New Zealand, its assessment standards or criteria, and those classroom topics and texts most commonly taught. Sarah spoke of this as

the joy of that expert knowledge, where that rapport happens between students and teachers purely because the teacher has knowledge of, and passion for, a subject. If you don't have that, what do you have in a classroom? (Interview, 2006)

The details of what specifically constituted this 'expert' content knowledge often remained tacit or implied in the interviews, and nor was there necessarily a close consensus among the group about which particular subject content mattered more than others. Sarah, for example, mentioned her own particular emphasis on introducing culturally relevant texts to student teachers as a way of acknowledging the cultures they were likely to encounter in the classroom:

...[A] good knowledge of New Zealand literature, for example, ... I consider to be imperative. I would always draw on New Zealand writers in my class. So, in terms of content knowledge, I insist [on] and encourage them to have read and be familiar with and be able to talk about and share a range of New Zealand writers. We provide resources for them. If I'm modelling something to do with a short story, for example, I would always use New Zealand examples. They often

come in without that content knowledge. They often come in with 20th century literature, Victorian or American lit, but not the New Zealand base. I would consider that fairly key in terms of [my] content knowledge. (Interview, 2006)

Dan, in contrast, identified content issues more related to the traditional canon of discipline English, including some student teachers' perceived lack of content breadth and a consequent over-reliance on prior, university-learned knowledge. He saw his role with regard to subject competence, therefore, as providing breadth to students' content knowledge, and 'reorienting' their content knowledge towards classroom relevance:

We just haven't got time in 72 hours to teach content. I just have to assume that they know enough. But increasingly that worries me, that they don't know enough in certain areas like language, particularly, and linguistics and grammar, and so forth. (Interview, 2004)

Yet, while all acknowledged that content gaps in their students' knowledge were as concerning as they were inevitable, each had different experiences of what those gaps were, and each addressed the issue as a matter of their own knowledge base in a different way. For example, Sarah's solution was a not uncommon one of consciously fostering a learning community where she and other students could share their differing content strengths with one another.

I do find there are real gaps in students' knowledge of basic language skills, so I find myself doing model lessons on parts of speech and basic grammar and doing those sorts of things, which I haven't had to do in the past, and I do what I've said to you before about drawing on expertise within the class and asking those people to present all the time, and that works really well. (Interview, 2006)

For Anna, too, the knowledge content required for her courses was something organic and changing, to be constantly developed and constructed anew, rather than as something static, or a container to be filled:

Of course they need subject knowledge - we can't afford to have people who don't know anything about anything. They must know something about something. Say, if they are English teachers or drama teachers, they need to know about English literatures, about theatre, about some drama processes ... they have to know this stuff. But that is OK because they can keep learning ... I have given up thinking of it as a specific set of knowledges ... [It's more] about

that willingness to engage and keep learning, that desire to adjust and manage and adapt their knowledges. (Interview, 2006)

In a similar vein to Anna, several others highlighted the importance of developing ‘content-rich’ courses that model and expose student teachers to great variety in content, but which are not ‘content dominated’ or ‘content-oriented’ as such. Rather, rich and relevant content was seen not so much as an end itself but as a vehicle for teaching of language-related skills and student-centred pedagogies. As Ali noted:

I personally don’t see English as a *content* subject. I see it as a skills-based subject ... It’s things like critical literacy, critical thinking, the ability to explore and enjoy language and how it can be used and why it should be used, that to me ... are more important than the actual knowing and being able to make a list of themes or a plot summary or something like that. ... I would be getting my students to think of the processes of thinking critically and processing information because they ... [need these] as citizens of the future and to be thinking, operating adults. (Interview, September, 2007)

She thus prioritised the critical thinking that underpinned the content, rather than the content itself, as the thing that she needed to ‘teach’ and therefore ‘know’ herself. Subject content, while intrinsically valuable as an aspect of cultural heritage, was a means to the greater end of developing generic, interpretive life skills and meeting broader educational goals.

In their discussions of their own expert knowledge as teacher educators, curriculum-content and subject-matter knowledge as such, and the academic content knowledge on which it is based, remained somewhat, and perhaps surprisingly, tacit and assumed, rather than fore-grounded or given primacy. There may be several reasons for this. Because the educators were predominantly teaching graduate courses, where most student teachers enter their teacher education programme with substantial specialist content background gained through prior undergraduate studies, they did not see content/subject delivery and development as the prime purpose of their own teaching. The typically tight one-year graduate programme probably further reduced their opportunity to consider content knowledge building a key element of their job descriptions.

In addition, teaching in a non-content-dominated curriculum area such as English, where it is possible to teach core skills through a wide variety of texts and approaches, given that the official New Zealand Curriculum is non-prescriptive, means that no specific

content/subject knowledge is prescribed for teacher education. Consequently, student teachers are expected to address their own knowledge gaps, and to develop independently appropriate content/subject knowledge during their pre-service year and beyond. A greater emphasis on skills development rather than content per se is a particular feature of the English and drama specialism areas as outlined in the New Zealand Curriculum. This emphasis may also partly explain the teacher educators' view that teaching the content of subject English was 'not their main job' and why their own subject-content competence emerged more as a taken-for-granted in their descriptions of their own expertise. It should be noted however, that English and drama may not be typical in this respect. In other subjects such as history, mathematics, and the sciences, where content topics are prescribed at senior level, approaches towards issues of content may differ.

Educational theory

The second area of requisite propositional knowledge for teacher educators that emerged was a broad knowledge of educational theory/theories. Fundamental to this knowledge is a particular understanding of theories of learning and theories of teaching - what Ali referred to as her need to "know about what happens in a classroom, how young people, adolescents, how they learn, what motivates them, what encourages them to learn, how you can make their learning interesting and relevant, and all those things". But they also referred to a wider range of theoretical perspectives that they needed to be familiar with, including theories of classroom management, curriculum theory, socio-cultural theories related to equity and ethnic and cultural diversity, theories of self-efficacy and reflective practice, and so on.

Rachel, especially, emphasised the importance of the theoretical underpinning of her programme, and her use of this as a conceptual framework or touchstone for her practice and programme design:

... the theoretical underpinning in our programme is the notion of Berliner's effective teacher, and we introduce students to that in the first lecture of the year. We revisit it many times. I keep alluding to it in my classroom work with the students and our assessment of their teaching. (Interview, 2003)

Rachel saw her knowledge of theories and of the empirical research that supported them, as a way of breaking student teachers' natural tendency to implement only what they already knew from prior exposure to classrooms as learners, and thus providing them with a framework on which they could base new thinking and practice:

I think they have got to have something to hang it on, because the theory is in my mind, or they are just going to get up there and teach exactly how they were taught themselves. Lortie talks about an apprenticeship of observation, and I think [it] is very natural for them to do to kids as they were done to themselves. So I would like to think that they learn to teach by first of all hearing something of the different approaches and the theory ... and maybe something of research that supports that, which they aren't familiar with before ... That is something that I am aware of and I am learning more as time goes by ... that they can make some connections to the theory when they are actually in the classroom. I am hoping they are transferring the ideas they have heard in our classes, in studies, into proper practice and gradually putting it together in their own lessons. (Interview, 2003)

Lewis, too, saw his growing theoretical knowledge as an essential conceptual framework or guide for his own and his students' pedagogical practice. He was particularly open about his early anti-intellectual stance and the shifts in thinking he had had to make in his own attitudes towards 'theory'. He had come only slowly to seeing as essential to his role the need "to bring theory and practice closer together".

I was one of those people who probably operated on the level of being slightly dismissive of educational theory and academia - probably because I felt a bit insecure about the whole thing, and in that sense I was a typical secondary teacher of my generation, of course, with a deep suspicion of ivory tower stuff. But having said that, I would certainly recently concede just how valuable it is to position your own practice within a theoretical framework as well. And I think that it [doing this] could be quite stimulating. (Interview, 2006)

The other members of the group tended to see their knowledge of theory as more closely related to their professional need to be aware of, and constantly present to their student teachers, the 'bigger pictures' of education and schooling. As Bella put it:

Another knowledge that I think is important is something about the way humans change and the way the young group that you have got ... understanding the continuum that they are on, where they are in relation to you and you are in relation to them, and where they are in relation to what teachers are doing, and where they are in relation to the sets of experiences they have in schools. Not

wanting everything to fit on one spot on the map but realising that it is the bigness. I want to emphasise this: we must think ‘bigly’ - the ‘biglier’ the better! (Interview, 2007)

While the ironic and deliberately neologistic use of the term ‘bigly’ served to emphasise Bella’s commitment to a generous and expansive purpose for teacher education, her commitment to valuing each learner’s points on the learning continuum, and where each fits in relation to the larger picture of educational theory, was a crucial part of how she framed her professional relationships.

All stressed the need for teacher educators to gain “a fuller understanding of education and educational issues and those kind of bigger picture things”. In other words, they saw having a broad knowledge of the macro cultural, social, political, and ideological landscape of education, nationally at the very least, as important for a teacher educator. Indeed, Sarah suggested that merely being in a role requiring such a high level of conceptualisation had, in some ways, allowed her to get a more objective view of education and to

synthesise a whole lot of stuff that, you know, you can have a sort of one-eyed view of while you’re in a school. It’s [teacher education] allowed me to step out of the school situation and see a much more global picture ... I think there is an obligation on teachers to actually go on developing their knowledge base all the time and actively seeking to know where they fit in, and that bigger picture all the time, and to be constantly updating that knowledge base. (Interview, 2006)

Lewis, too, talked of the “benefits of being able to step back and have a wider perspective ... [As a teacher educator] you gain and bring a perspective which you really just can’t achieve when running to keep up the day to day in schools” (Interview, 2007). Ali also spoke of her need to ‘be keeping up with things’. She highlighted, in particular, her need to understand theories of andragogy so that she could better appreciate the ‘differences’ associated with working with adults:

Dealing with people who are motivated, that want to learn, is a big difference [from school teaching]. ... They want to have an understanding of things and so [have] an awareness that their time is precious, so that motivation, that sense of purpose, is much more obvious ... So I think you do have to have some bigger pictures and theoretical understanding of how people learn, how young people learn, and beyond that how adults learn as well. I found it really useful doing the

course on adult learning because it is different to the way adolescents learn.
(Interview, 2006)

Knowledge of the profession

Reflecting this emphasis on knowing ‘the bigger picture’, but also associated with what Dan referred to as his calling to ‘reorient’ student teachers’ subject and disciplinary knowledge towards the official curriculum and adolescent learners, is the third main area of requisite propositional knowledge that emerged from the interviews - that of a working knowledge of schooling and the education ‘system’ itself. This notion of a ‘knowledge of the profession’ included current knowledge of the New Zealand Curriculum, nationally mandated assessment requirements, and other central policy initiatives in education, but it was not confined to these. It also included a current, and preferably ‘working’, knowledge of how schools operate as socio-cultural systems, school management structures, staffroom lore, and so on. Dan described his knowledge of the profession as including:

... the curriculum and the assessment system, and all that stuff they need to know, all the ‘professional’ knowledge. Particularly since it’s all so new, and the associates themselves are kind of struggling with it. NCEA stuff. So we [teacher educators] have to know that backwards. (Interview, 2005)

Jane emphasised that educators need not only to know about but actually to have experiential knowledge of current educational initiatives and the broader educational policy landscape, through personal involvement at the micro school and macro national level.

They need to have a really good knowledge of new things that are coming on stream. That’s why I think it is really important for them to be involved in the Ministry and NZQA initiatives and things like that. They also need to have a really good knowledge of teaching adults, a good knowledge of the things that research tells us makes a good school tick over, because they are the kinds of knowledge and dispositions that you want to grow in your students.

[Teacher educators] need to have a good knowledge of school students and ... they have to have a fairly good knowledge of different school contexts, anyway, either from personal experience or from going into schools and watching teachers work with students themselves, and all that kind of stuff, [having] professional conversations with teachers from a variety of schools. That’s why it is important for them to belong to local associations and all that kind of stuff, and

not just within their own geographical network, but nationally. (Interview, 2004)

Ali particularly emphasized the benefits of having a working, or practical, knowledge of these things and of acquiring such knowledge from experience:

You also have to understand how assessment works, those practical experiences - I think that's the word, 'classroom experience' - and things, understandings of the practical, what works in a classroom, and how you can make people learn. No, not 'make people learn', how you can set up programmes that will help people learn. (Interview, 2004)

The use of a cultural sporting metaphor also illustrated her belief that prior in-school experience plays an indispensable role in the formulation of such professional knowledge.

I can't imagine training anyone to do anything if you hadn't experienced it yourself. I just can't even think of another occupation with professional skills; it would be like training the All Blacks and not being a rugby player. Surely you would have to have played rugby to train the All Blacks, wouldn't you? (Interview, 2006)

She extrapolated to other in-school roles that, in her view, teacher educators needed prior experience of, such as working as a school-based associate, mentoring student teachers on practicum, and being a school mentor to young teachers in their probationary year.

Yet, as she also argued, having been a classroom practitioner is not enough on its own for formulating an adequate knowledge base for a teacher educator. Knowledge and experience of the wider educational world beyond one's individual classroom is also essential. She emphasised the breadth and all-encompassing characteristic of this type of professional knowledge, especially its generic, beyond classroom, beyond subject, and even beyond school, scope and nature.

Knowing how: knowledge of the processes of teaching and learning

Although the teacher educators sometimes referred to gaps in some students' curriculum content knowledge, and often to the need for themselves as teacher educators to be knowledgeable about such content, they saw neither teaching the content or discipline knowledge of subject English, nor teaching educational theory, nor teaching about the professional culture of schools as the central or key elements of their specialist expertise as teacher educators. Because their students were all postgraduates with at least some English

content in their undergraduate degrees, the educators tended to, or at least indicated they would like to be able to, take such content knowledge (as contestable as that might be) more or less for granted, and thus to focus on what was universally to them the more important issue of ‘teaching how to teach’ such content.

Much more important for the group than forms of propositional knowledge was thus their emphasis on that distinctive hybrid integration of both content and process - what Shulman (1987) termed pedagogical content knowledge (PCK), or what others might call the ‘procedural’ knowledge. This is the ‘how to teach’ that complements the knowledge of ‘what to teach’ in most teacher education programme curricula. All of the teacher educators in the study saw this as the key element in defining their particular areas of expert knowledge. Rather than a broad ‘knowing that’, the expert knowledge component of their professional identities was most closely embodied in what they saw as their professional ‘*knowing how*’.

In broad terms, three main aspects to the specialist knowing how, or procedural knowledge, emerged from the interviews. If the participants believed that the distinctive *propositional* knowledge of teacher educators consisted of their knowledge of a subject field, their knowledge of educational theory, and their working knowledge of the systems and cultures of schools and schooling, they believed even more that their distinctive *procedural* knowledge consisted of their knowing how to embody and model pedagogies, how to link and connect educational theory and practice, and how to facilitate experiential forms of learning.

Knowing how to model teaching

Unsurprisingly, perhaps, the pedagogical method all drew on most extensively, and described most often as the cornerstone of their pedagogy as teacher educators, was modelling. As Loughran (2006, p. 39) points out, “while modelling may be conceived as a demonstration of exemplary practice ... it is important to recognise that in all that occurs in teaching about teaching, ‘something’ is always being modelled, be it good or not so good, intentional or unintentional practice.” Modelling permeated the practice of this group in a number of ways and on a number of levels: modelling interactive student-centred practice in general, modelling reflection on that practice, modelling used to explicitly teach specific skills, deliberate modelling of the complexity of teaching, and modelling desirable professional behaviours, attitudes and qualities, and even a teaching identity. Loughran (2006) drew these elements together when he wrote, “Modelling teaching in ways that demonstrates a commitment to students of teaching seeing, feeling, experiencing, reflecting and analysing

teaching, requires a focus on them experiencing just that and requires teacher educators to teach as they preach” (p. 95).

Ali described modelling active teaching strategies as the pedagogical cornerstone of her daily practice, and considered experiential aspects as crucial for students:

They learn it [how to teach], I like to think, through modelling - that the teacher educator will model the ways that the learning can take place so that they can experience teaching in a manner that, in my case, I would like to see teaching happening. So I try to work with and model with my students, an [sic.] interactive, student centred activities, and any time that they have something that is not student-centred they are very quickly, even if they have to go to a lecture or something, they very quickly start complaining because they get very used to working interactively and they can see the value of it. (Interview, 2007)

She acknowledged that the modelling she received as a beginning teacher educator during the informal team-teaching of a course had a powerful influence on her practice as a teacher educator: “... [without] that sort of modelling and the chance for some collaborative teaching ... I think I would have gone in more as the [content] expert. I would have found it hard to get rid of that model that I was used to having.”

Explicit modelling of practical skills and/or ‘exemplary practice’ was also one of Lewis’s key methods. If you came into his classroom, he said, “you would see me trying to model the sorts of things that I have talked about, particularly with classroom management. I hope you’d hear me saying, ‘Okay, you are going into the classroom module, I am going to give some instructions now. This is how you should give instructions’”.

Presenting a somewhat different viewpoint, both Sarah and Dan referred to modelling in terms of the metaphor of the ‘lived life’. Dan described this type of modelling as the teacher educator ‘being’ the reader, the viewer, or the theatregoer, visibly ‘doing it yourself’.

I make a big thing about as an English teacher you have to be a model of somebody who is engaged with literature. That means you go to movies, you go to plays, you read books, and the time that you find to do these things. If you don’t do that, you might as well give up, because you can’t talk about the importance of these things if you aren’t doing it yourself. So I try and get them to become during this time of the year, the time that they’re with us, readers and viewers and theatregoers. (Interview, 2006)

Sarah claimed that in all she did she felt she was ‘living’, and thereby modelling, the teaching role:

I do think about it a lot. It’s to do with being the lived teacher. There’s a difference between acting out and actually being the lived teacher. I think those two are different. [Name] acts out the role, and I guess I *live it*, and that’s where we’re quite different. (Interview, 2006)

She described the role as one that she genuinely felt and owned as part of her identity. While she referred particularly to teachers, she also included teacher educators in her thinking about the need for both to ‘walk the talk’ in a more than superficial way:

People need to grow into being teachers. It’s about a feeling thing, and I was thinking about it last night, and thinking about teaching and that famous line from that musician about rhythm, “If you don’t feel it baby, you haven’t got it.” And that’s basically how I feel about teaching. “If you don’t feel it baby, you haven’t got it.” Go somewhere else. The ... [technical and the heart aspects] are both important, but the first one is limited if it’s not combined with a real interest in students or, in our case, in teaching adults who are teaching kids. (Interview, 2006)

Like Loughran (2006), several of the group thus argued that teacher educators needed to model more than mere technical strategies. They needed to be able to model virtually all of the capabilities and dispositions that they were hoping to foster in their neophyte colleagues. Anna, in particular, talked of this at some length in relation to a professional disposition of being a risk-taker. If teacher educators wanted student teachers to take pedagogical risks, she said, then they too needed to model that same disposition for pedagogical risk-taking.

The only way they’re going to take risks, I think, as a teacher educator, is if you model what that looks like ... We need to be sending out people that are so excited about teaching that they’re not going to lose that excitement ever. Even if it wanes a little bit, college is somewhere they’ve been motivated to be passionate and excited, and if we’re not doing that for and with them we shouldn’t be here really ... Everybody as a teacher educator should be providing that to students. (Interview, 2004)

For the educators, a second distinctive feature of teacher educator modelling as a professional expertise was that it should not to be left passive, tacit, or unchallenged. Like the

others, Rachel argued in several interviews that it is not enough to passively model strategies, approaches and processes, and activities and expect students to absorb their meaning by ‘osmosis’. If modelling was to be educationally useful for students, then the deliberateness of, and the reasons for, the process needed to be made visible and explicit to them. She described her thinking in terms of “straddling” - straddling the modelled behaviour itself and the collective explication of it.

I mean the whole time I am teaching, I’m straddling; I’m straddling teaching *and* modelling. And I’m modelling as I work to teach a class; I’m modelling pedagogy ... you are switching roles all the time, and *perceptibly*: “Now I’m treating you as I would treat a class. Now I am doing as I would a class.” But “now I am treating you as I would teach adults,” and teaching adults [like this] is really, really ... difficult. (Interview, 2004)

Rachel described using a number of explication methods to help student teachers reflect on the complex and problematic nature of teaching. For her, a ‘think-aloud’ method was an explicit attempt to reveal the complexity, puzzles, and difficulties of pedagogical decision-making. But it was not necessarily an easy or comfortable process for herself and her students.

I try a rather easy modelling in a sense. I try to work with them, I try to model how I would teach students in the classroom while at the same time [I try to] be conscious that I am working with adults ... I try to do a lot of reflection out loud about why I am doing things and what I think we are doing. Sometimes it is very natural, other times it feels very clunky. It hasn’t quite come off. (Interview, 2004)

Similarly, letting students see that sometimes the fact that things do not work does not mean the end of the world. Rachel illustrated the ‘risky’ nature of the reflection-in-action process she engaged in thus:

I’m trying all the time to model reflection and trying to get them to see that things often don’t work for me too, and I can try something, and it doesn’t sit very well. For example, at the very end of the last term, we had the final week where they actually did some common assessment tasks right across the whole group in each of their teaching subjects, and they were really knackered, but at the same time we were trying to run most of our normal programme. I realised by

Thursday of the week that they had just had it. They weren't able to focus. I would see these glazed eyes in front of me. When I reflected to them that what I was doing was not working, that I was being incredibly boring in how I was approaching it, because I was sitting there looking at their glazed eyes and panicking into short cuts and things like that. I could see that they were a little surprised that I framed it in terms of *my* failure to engage them. But I think it is really important that they see that, because it is sometimes really hard to engage adults. (Interview, 2003)

When comparing themselves as teacher educators to themselves as school teachers, most of the group commented at some point or another in the interviews that, as teacher educators, they were - indeed, had to be - much more overt and explicit about their pedagogy, and had increasingly become conscious of this distinctive part of their 'new' professional knowledge.

Knowing how to bridge theory and practice

The notion of getting at theory *through* practice and implementing an inductive rather than a deductive pedagogy in teacher education was the second strong element in what the group claimed exemplified their specialist 'know-how'.

One of the ongoing challenges for teacher educators is to help students of teaching, learning and schooling make sense of all the propositional or 'formal' knowledge that they are exposed to. Teacher educators are tasked with helping student teachers develop schema and see connections between theory and practice, so the latter are able to translate their understandings of concepts derived from theory and research into meaningful practice in the classroom. Indeed, Zeichner clearly highlights the complex and problematic nature of this task in his claims of 'washout effects' of teacher education (Zeichner & Tabachnik, 1981). Ideally, this connection-making happens most clearly, but far from unproblematically, when students undertake practicum experiences in schools and with 'real' students - in what Ali called the "fidelity" of the practicum classroom. Ali uses the metaphors of "springboard" and "lighting a fuse" to explain the relationship between her coursework and its application on practicum:

The two should tie together. There should be a nice dovetailing of what we do here at college, and we should be providing the springboard, and I think I used the metaphor of before of lighting the fuse, and that fuse needs to burn out there

in the schools - that is where they can apply. Here it is a bit sheltered because we are often, even though they get chances to present things to each other, it tends to be in a sheltered sort of way. They need to get out there and enjoy the cut and thrust, the fidelity of the classroom and a group of young people they can work with. (Interview, 2004)

The symbiotic but problematic relationship between coursework and experience on teaching practice was a constant theme in the teacher educators' discussions of their own pedagogy. Lewis, for example, talked of the ways he tried to make links between course content and practice while visiting student teachers on teaching practicum.

[I have] a professional dialogue with the student ... because our courses here - for example, the English Language course - are assessed purely through teaching practice. ... So what I say to them is "Hey, you wrote a whole lot of notes on the board, but in English Language, we talked about the use of dictionaries or paragraphs. Why aren't you doing those things?" So it is actually relating them to the course. (Interview, 2004)

Yet, because he did not teach them all their other courses, he saw the opportunity to make links with the latter as more problematic than making links with his own courses.

Dan similarly saw as one of his main roles and abilities bridging content and understanding and helping students (re)frame their prior knowledge in perhaps unfamiliar ways:

One of my main roles is to sort of reorient the university knowledge and training to a classroom context. I think also helping them see how they can adapt what they've learnt at university, in this case in the subject English, to what will work with teenagers, because university courses are so focused on a certain kind of model of cultural transmission and can honour texts and all that stuff. (Interview, 2005)

Part of this particular skill involved sifting and making digestible the pabulum of research in order to make links with practice for students. In this sense, Dan saw himself as a broker, someone who could make the complex simple and accessible, hopefully without being reductionist, through a carefully scaffolded process that modelled good pedagogy.

For the others of the group, coursework tended to be the main site where they could focus on making such links. Employing interactive and experiential pedagogies simultaneously modelled and problematised practice. Ali, for example, stressed that providing ample opportunities for interactive learning experiences was her way of bridging theory and practice. She and the students then deconstructed and critiqued these activities and strategies in class:

Bridging that theory/practice divide ... is such a big challenge, I think. For our students and for us ... I try to get them to experience it as a student and then to step back so that they problematise it from both perspectives - the student perspective by trialling an activity and thinking about what they learnt from doing it, and then putting the teacher hat on and trying to see what [the] learning processes are, and how it facilitated learning, and then trying to problematise it. What did work? What didn't work? And how could you do it differently? Just throwing those things open to them all the time. (Interview, 2006)

Making explicit links to experience on teaching practice was also seen as an essential way of breaking down what they saw as false binaries between theory and practice. As noted, this approach was not unproblematic because negative prior experiences during practicum could result in the students, or their associate teachers dismissing innovative teaching and learning ideas as impractical in 'real' classrooms. However, such challenges were seen as forming the ongoing grist of the teacher education process.

The other way I try to do it is get them to think about the classes that they've taught and how's it worked for them, so they can link it to a classroom situation that they have experienced ... It's hard for us to have that balance. The last thing I want them to say is that "This is what College taught us, but we don't use it because it's [silence]"... if they can wear two hats all the time and make those links themselves with their own experiences, that helps. (Interview, 2006)

In line with the themes of connection-making and drawing on prior knowledge and experience, an implicit use of Vygotsky's zones of actual and proximal development and Bruner's notion of 'scaffolding' learning underpinned much of what the teacher educators did and said about their own 'knowledge in action'. Sarah, for example, discussed the importance of small incremental steps to build understanding and knowledge in the context of her assessment programme. Eschewing traditional university essay modes of assessment, she

argued that assessments in teacher education had to be more contextually relevant, and more authentic to the needs of student teachers as practitioners. Assessment to her was more about assessing students' professional readiness than it was about assessing their professional knowledge.

We're talking about the students that are all graduates. They've already proven they can do that. We're not interested in their academic expertise in writing essays or whether they can do APA referencing. What I'm interested in knowing is are they going to be English teachers and are they ready to go into the classroom and teach English with all those complex layers of understanding needed?

Knowing how to facilitate experience

The notion of facilitating the authentic and the experiential in learning how to teach and in teaching how to teach, forms the third major aspect of the teacher educators' 'knowing how' as outlined in the interviews. Each of them made a point of discussing how they were, or were not, able to enact their own espoused theories (Argyris & Schön, 1974) in order to 'walk their own talk', and they all described addressing this issue in terms of a strong vision of teaching as 'the facilitation of learning' and an equally strong vision of teacher educating as the facilitation of learning about teaching and learning, through teaching and learning.

All talked at length of their preference for, and commitment to, an interactive, experiential pedagogy of teacher education, based on the modelling of problematised practice that was, where possible, co-constructed. In keeping with their strongly constructivist views of learning as an active and social process, they saw interactive modelling methods as a crucial means for bridging the divides between theory and practice, for exemplifying their own praxis as teacher educators, and for facilitating the transitions student teachers must make between institutionally-bounded courses and practice in schools.

Behind this intention, too, lurked the realisation that, many of their student teachers during their own schooling had not necessarily had the opportunity to *experience* such interactive pedagogical practice. Nor had they necessarily had the chance to observe highly effective teaching practice during practicum placements. In fact, they may often have encountered the 'folklore barrier', where students are exposed to dismissive comments such as "Forget all that stuff you learned at college; this is the real world now," and "Don't smile before Easter." The teacher educators were also aware that they often had limited time to address student teachers' deep-seated preconceptions about teaching after years of an

‘apprenticeship of observation’ (Lortie, 1975) with regard to academic models of pedagogy, and so they felt they needed to model and exemplify in their own classes alternative approaches that challenged perceived cultural norms or “doctrine of teaching as telling” (Korthagen, Loughran, & Russell, 2006, p. 1027).

Sarah described some of her admission interviews with prospective student teachers in these terms:

And I shudder because when you interview students - “Why did you want to be a teacher?” - it’s often because they want to “pass on their knowledge”. And so that whole concept of teaching being something where you pass on knowledge I think needs to be challenged and tested and explored. [Our] knowledge is to do with what teaching *is*, and it’s more than just passing on content knowledge. (Interview, 2006)

A third hallmark of the group’s description of their specialist pedagogical knowing how, therefore, was their commitment to providing in-class ‘experiences’, not just ‘lessons’, in an environment where they could all experiment, take risks, make mistakes, and question and challenge one another other. The pedagogical strategies they talked of using for this included modelling various ways of making abstract concepts or ideas more concrete, and of encouraging an understanding of how processes and strategies might work in action through facilitating a series of active engagements with content materials. They included experimenting with a range of different strategies or structures to teach and learn the same piece of content. They spoke of promoting active engagement and critical thinking. They spoke of recognising students as active creators of knowledge rather than passive recipients, and of drawing on the ‘English’ skills of talking and doing their own writing through, for example, reflective journals, role-play, discussion with peers, and micro-teaching, in order to learn these processes and strategies.

Ali highlighted the holistic, experiential nature of her teaching process and the importance of attending to a number of key things at once in any given activity - having an overt reason for the learning, attending to the emotional and motivational aspects of learning, the importance of active participation, and working together with others on a common goal.

There’s got to be still that sense of purpose, that there is going to be a *reason* for us having some learning ... starting where the learning is that so that we can then begin to construct and add onto [it] some things we know already ... and to be able to make those links from existing knowledge.

You have to encourage some engagement and some sense of excitement, of interest, because people don't always have that. So the job of the teacher educator is to create something that comes back to that sense of purpose, but also "I want to learn!" The student is saying, "I want to learn it. This sounds, feels, smells exciting, let's go with it."... Once you've got the engagement, a variety of ways can get them involved so that they are *participating* in the learning ...

In that way it becomes a two-way process because the person learning can enjoy the process, and so the purpose is arrived at. It's more of a sharing. So our learning has a clear purpose - it's participatory, collaborative ... and it's got to be an active process. (Interview, 2005)

Rachel similarly talked of using group simulation opportunities so that student teachers could 'experience activities for themselves' and interact with pedagogical strategies from both the learner and the teacher perspectives.

We do a lot of group work trying our ideas out. I will introduce them to maybe a learning strategy and then we will try it out. They produce something. I might do them a skeleton. For example, we might be talking about ways - I am just trying to think of a particular one. Okay, ways of using a novel in the classroom. I might set them a task to do and require them to produce a series of activities based on some of the strategies we have discussed. (Interview, 2004)

For all, a key part of critical reflection on their practice inevitably involved the ability to tolerate cognitive dissonance, that uncomfortable catalyst for change. This, in turn, involved, in Jane's words, "calculated 'I will give this a go' risk-taking". Not just "someone out there experimenting ... [but risk-taking] with a competent colleague beside them." Hers was a pedagogy premised not only on being open-minded and willing to make mistakes, but also on providing as authentic as possible experience to reflect upon:

There's that whole thing of saying to them on practicum, when you have had a failure, and you will have failures and if you don't have failures, you're not thinking about what's happened enough because you're not perfect, none of us are, and there will be things that fail. Celebrate the failure because that's your learning curve, you know. There's no point in doing the same thing over and over and over but trying to do it harder, you know? ... It's thinking about what you are doing, what you can do better, and then celebrating the fact that you were

given the opportunity to make your mistake, because *that* is your learning curve. You don't learn through your successes. You learn through your failures. (Interview, 2004)

Anna used similar risk or adventure sport metaphors of bungee jumping and abseiling to explore the nature and value of experiencing risk as an integral part of student teacher's learning, and her own teaching. As a student teacher, and as a teacher educator, one must *do*, she said, not just observe. It is through the doing that trust and confidence are built.

I quote Sarah's anecdote of making a mockumentary as one of her most successful activities at length below because it illustrates all three elements of teacher educator knowing how: problematised modelling, theory embodied in practice, and making learning experiential.

I've made a concerted effort to provide opportunities in our programme to make our teachers feel more familiar with educational technology but I'm not so hot on it myself, but again I've used that shared knowledge approach. "Let's do it together. Let's all make a film, a documentary, a film, etcetera." And students have told me from their feedback that that's the most exciting thing they've done - made a movie. Last year we made a mockumentary, and we did that in groups, and we had a whole award ceremony at the end of it, and we had a showing of their movies, and I brought another lecturer in who was familiar with that area and worked with students and gave them a little brief. It was great actually. We made the mockumentary and had awards, and we deconstructed the whole process. So, over a period of three days, instead of doing all the theory all those three days, we gave these groups a camera each and a brief they had to include a certain character, one particular line, and one particular prop, and they had to work in the documentary genre. And it was absolutely fantastic, and they were still there at nine at night, working together ...

The great thing about it was that while they were working as a group in the English class, they started drawing in other people from other particular areas and asked them if they would be players and interview them, and so they started drawing in people from other areas - interviewed them - and so they all started to feel a certain ownership about it ... I used an achievement standard exemplar and used that and showed them how it could fit into the classroom, the same process, same ideas. They have gone off very excited and very happy. (Interview, 2006)

Just as important for Sarah was the impact of developing a raft of new insights into the learning theories-in-action (Argyris & Schön, 1978; Schön, 1983), and close critical analysis of process and the English curriculum in action:

We had a talk about it. I hate being too pointed about that, but I did open it up for discussion, and they were surprised at how well they had worked together. That was great because they were quite a disparate group. The cooperative learning, they saw that straight away. Because they were learning in a group, they were far braver about exploring educational technologies than if they had been on their own, so they went to places they wouldn't have gone on their own. They saw strength in each other, something that they'd never seen, so it provided opportunities. Some people immediately became front-line people in their documentaries and had the most amazing talent, and people who had not shone in the course took the front-line roles and became kind of heroes - looked at differently. It forged new respect, and it forged new friendships in the way they operated with each other. It forced them to think about working within timeframes, which they needed to do as teachers, as they had timeframes through the process in meeting deadlines and completing it. They were forced to sacrifice some of their dearly held ideas and give in to other people's ... They did some shared writing because they were scripting as they went. It forced some people to be talkers who had never been talkers. I mean we went through it with the students, and they brought all these things up! It was incredible. Some of them said their lives had been changed by it. It was like making a movie. For some of them, it was a totally new experience, and those to me are the opportunities we should be providing as teacher educators, and it didn't necessarily need a video camera, but we need to think about those sorts of learning moments.

Sarah's anecdote serves as a powerful illustration of what the teacher educators meant when they talked of advocating active and interactive pedagogies that create authentic and holistic integrated learning experiences for students.

Knowing when: knowledge as situated decision-making

Another theme in the teacher educators' discussions of their professional knowledge was an insistence on the significance of context and contextual responsiveness. For all of them, teaching teachers, like teaching children, was a purposeful social activity that was irreducible

to a set of procedural formulae. As Darling-Hammond, Bransford, and La Page (2005, p. 5) note, there is no single “cookie-cutter” formula for being successful as a teacher. Just as there is no ‘one way’ of being a teacher, nor is there one way of being a teacher educator. Teacher education, like teaching itself, consists of constant, deliberate, and conscious decision-making.

However, while no one strategy, or even set of strategies, was more important to know or apply than others, all of the teacher educators in the study tended to talk of learning in terms of constructivist ideals and theories, resisting those theories of teaching that imply a technicist view of either teaching or teacher education as a mere set of professional practices. Indeed, part of what they said made them ‘professionals’ was their knowing *when* to take certain actions, to vary the recipe, and not just *how*. Teaching for them seemed to consist of a series of professional choices and procedural decisions rather than a set of applied rules of action. This decision process was bound, certainly, by some generic principles, but determined most of all by the exigencies of ever-changing and complex educational contexts and an ever-diversified student group. While there was a relatively shared conception among the group as to the ingredients that might make for more and less successful teaching, there was no one - or even set - of agreed recipes of action that might be universally applied. One must know some ‘rules’, but, even more importantly, one must know when to break them, and when they don’t apply. The skills of teaching and teacher education alike were about ‘knowing when or whether’ as well as ‘knowing how’, or ‘knowing about’.

Jane described the constant decision-making involved in being the ‘expert pedagogue’ as a complicated balancing act. Teacher educators, she argued,

... have got to have confidence enough in what they do that they can let it go and go somewhere else, in terms of what they are teaching at a particular time. That whole thing of the teaching moment - the stuff that we are teaching the students. We have got to have the ability to talk with confidence about things off the top of our head, and I am not just talking about the confidence but also the knowledge to be able to do that. We must be articulate, we should have a good sense of humour, we shouldn’t take ourselves too seriously or otherwise we turn the students off, we should not only model the kinds of things that we would like our students to be doing with their students in classrooms but also not model them because our students are *not* students in classrooms and our students need to know when the different changes are taking place, so [teacher educators] need

to make some of those things initially obvious to them. (Interview, 2004)

When, moreover, there is no single recipe, an emphasis on pedagogy as decision-making promotes challenge and discomfort as springboards for learning. As Lewis expressed it, the disposition in teacher educators to challenge their own practice involves not being defensive about their own pedagogical choices and decisions.

I think the other thing is being not defensive when you are dealing with your students. I mean I have some disagreements with some of the other professionals on our course - in the most professional way, of course - that everything in our course is up for debate, and I like our students to actually challenge. Sometimes that is not comfortable but going into secondary profession where it is, once again that word, it is an *abrasive* environment, it is a *challenging* environment, I don't think we are doing our students any favours by giving them the party line and not dealing with challenge because it is all about ... teaching is a subversive activity.

Both Lewis and Rachel also believed their students of teaching needed to understand that, in the same way as there is no fixed 'canon' of things to know in English, there is no one fixed way of teaching it. While instinct and intuition borne of long experience as teachers and teacher educators were a significant part of their knowing in action (Schön, 1995), and their pedagogical kete (kit or basket), their choices were also research-informed and evidence-based. Their approaches then reflected commitment to, in the main, social constructivist theories of learning, informed and shaped by particular researchers and theorists in their discipline areas, as well as by current research informing the educational landscape of New Zealand schools, such as the best evidence syntheses and work in Māori and Pasifika education. Their students thus had to be able to draw on a wide variety of teaching strategies, methods, processes, and approaches to teaching so that they could make conscious, deliberate selections informed by more than just instinct and appropriate to context and to understand that these must inevitably be context-specific:

There is a range of ways to do things ... I often say to the students, "Look , you sure this is the right thing for the school? It sure looks like good advice your associate has given, which is good advice, but I am saying to you that there are a range of other ways that things can be done and a range of other school cultures."... Associates certainly know how to manage and motivate and teach

the kids in their own school, but ideally you must begin to realise that there is a bigger complex picture, and to leave that door open for the students, and not say, “This is the way it has got to be done,” but “This is how we do it in this school.” (Interview 2003)

Jane was especially adamant that teacher educators’ expert knowledge, in whatever form it took, should not be presented as ‘the answer’ or the ‘only way’ of doing things. She made obvious her belief that expert pedagogical knowledge is dense and multi-faceted and clearly extends well beyond ‘bags of tricks’ and technical strategies, despite the desire of student teachers to have such.

Being able to call on a rich amalgam of professional knowledge, comprising understandings, skills, abilities, dispositions, and drawing from what Korthagen, Kessels, Koster, Lagerwerf, and Wubbels (2001) describe as *episteme*, or formal or propositional knowledge, and from *phronesis*, or knowledge derived from practical wisdom, derived from praxis and experience, was seen by all as a pre-requisite for helping students understand the messy, uncertain, ambiguous, and complex business of teaching. As Jane observed:

I think we’ve got to be very wary of not offering the top ten topics [laughter] or the ‘this is the way we do this’. I’m sorry, I don’t think there is one way that we do anything ... A lot of the way we choose to do things depends on us as individuals and the kids in front of us, and our aims and our goals ... If you give me more information, then maybe I can give you ten or twelve different scenarios for you to choose from. It’s about them having the confidence at the end of the year to make choices like that. (Interview, 2004)

Bella described the need for a similar kind of balancing act in relation to knowing when to ‘withhold’ so that student teachers could discover things for themselves. Creating a space for this to happen meant that student teachers could take control of their own learning.

The art of withholding is one that most energetic and enthusiastic people still have to learn. I think this is a skill, knowing when to withhold and when to lead and when to step back and when to allow people time to grow themselves and when to give them a push and when to give them a suggestion and when to give them a question and when they need a statement. ... It’s withholding ... allowing

students to make discoveries and allowing them to push to where they need to go instead of finishing off your lesson plan. (Interview, 2007)

Knowing why: expert knowledge as a personal/professional philosophy

If the teacher educators saw their professional knowledge as propositional, procedural, and situated, they also saw it as developmental in the sense that, for both their students and for themselves, it was targeted at the evolution of a personal/professional philosophy of action. They saw the development of their students and of themselves as autonomous critical practitioners as an important part of their development as professionals. For their students, it was not enough that they should graduate knowing something of English and the English curriculum, or knowing something of how to teach English in class, or even being responsive to the different learning contexts of those classes. They wanted their students to graduate having developed (or at least having begun to develop) over time a comprehensive and justified ‘philosophy’ of teaching that involved them in articulating not just what and how they were teaching but also ‘why’: on what socio-moral base as well as on what theory base.

All participants tended to describe their own development as teacher educators in similar terms, though this time applied to the development of their own philosophy or ‘place to stand’ as teacher educators. Just as it was important to them that their students knew why - on what moral or theoretical grounds - they were teachers, it was important that as teacher educators they knew and could articulate and justify why they were teacher educators. Despite some differences in emphasis among them, what emerged from their discussions were implicit philosophies that they had developed more inductively from the ‘authority of experience’ (Munby & Russell, 1994, 1995) than deductively from the internal coherences of external theories of teaching or teacher education per se.

Although knowledge about theories of learning and teaching are also identified as key areas for teacher educators, this group tended to see these as constituting a murky and problematic area. Given their school experience and the nature of the institutional cultures within which most of them began their careers as teacher educators, it was not surprising that, for them, the development of a personal philosophy had been a move from *phronesis* to *episteme* (Kessels & Korthagen, 1996, 2001) and not the other way round, which seems to be the pattern that forms when teacher education has long been located in the university. Lewis made the point, in relation to his own personal history, that he developed his *raison d’être* as a teacher educator *after* he had become one - indeed, as a result of the experience of being one:

When I started thinking really hard about what it is I do as a teacher educator and where all those ideas come from, and *why* I do what I do, I had to come face to face with the realisation that a lot of what I do and the reasons I do it are pure instinct really. And then I started thinking about that, and then I started thinking, “Well, it’s possibly not the most solid basis on which to build a whole teaching practice.” You know, it’s all very well having experience and good instincts, but one would hope that we did things for other reasons as well. (Interview, 2005)

However, Lewis also acknowledged that developing his personal philosophy was not as simple as moving from practice towards theory because this begged the question of whether his practice was already theory-driven. His “pure instinct”, as he termed it, was what comprised his own personal and hitherto tacit teaching theories, developed over his decades in the classroom. But to label his praxis as theory-free would be misleading. At the very least, Lewis’s knowledge base might be considered a form of *knowledge-in-practice*. And more likely it is what the authors identify as a third, more generative conception, *knowledge-of-practice*, which integrates two otherwise distinct knowledge types: *knowledge-for-practice* and *knowledge-in-practice*. (Cochran-Smith & Lytle (1993, 2004)

For the teacher educators in the study this process of more overtly theorising their own practice - of unpacking, understanding, and positioning their practice through a more overtly theoretical lens - was an enriching and important one. Again, however, it was not unproblematic, highlighting the complex, tricky business of justifying, or having known reasons for, their pedagogical decisions.

For instance, when I get them to practise planning, which is a false kind of thing to do - the real test is when they have got real people, real kids with real needs in front of them. What they *must* do right throughout their plan is *justification*. And at the very beginning, when they are just learning how to do this, they can just justify activities in terms of learning outcomes, justify learning outcomes in terms of the curriculum, justify choice of resources in terms according to the learning outcomes, according to who this fictitious bunch of people is that they are teaching, that sort of thing. But later on I upped the anti: I wanted it justified in terms about what we know about *learning* and what we know about *teaching*, and they have actually got to pull in a lot of the theory. (Interview, 2003)

Sarah reinforced the point by explaining how propositional theories are made sense of through practice and through the process of critical reflection, or critical reflection-in-action (Schön, 1983), as much as in their own right:

I think those knowledges are really important, and it doesn't necessarily come in a textbook or a reading. It is combined with exploring your own experiences as well and being able to tap into that and observe while they're out [on teaching practicum]. So it's synthesising and bringing together all that knowledge about learning and understanding about what happens in the teaching role *while I am actually doing it*, and what does teaching actually *mean*?

She also elaborated on what she saw as *ineffective* ways of introducing student teachers to theories of teaching and learning:

I think one of the first things I like to think about is to actually establish that positive orientation and try and get students to operate from that positive orientation, and that's what frightens me and concerns me about having a programme that's heavily theory-laden, because that often will feed those negative orientations, especially if you explore the theories, talking about classroom management or discipline. You're giving all these scenarios without actually building up the positive. So you're often giving students burdens to carry but no skills or dispositions to be able to carry them positively. (Interview, 2006)

Anna also highlighted the importance of making sense of theory *through* practice and of integrating the two. She summed up the process as a need for both: "Even though I do a lot of process work, I do a lot of theorising". She explained that the complex and difficult task of unpacking or deconstructing one's prior theories of learning while simultaneously undertaking new learning should not be under-estimated. The task required, she said, required deliberate and, at times, painful effort, exemplified in her metaphor of cracking open seed cases:

It is about the thing we talked about: learning, unlearning, and relearning. Our first learning is often about the ideas we came with, and there is nothing wrong with those ideas, but they were often received ones that we got from other people. They are very much socially conditioned - the ideas of our childhood rather than burgeoning maturity - and we tend to fit everything into that boxing

that we get. And if we are good learners, we probably fit more of them into that boxing, as we get reinforced ... You can learn something or find something new that is a more complex way of looking at things, and this might lead to further confrontations, but that first learning is very much a reinforcement kind of learning - a positivist kind of learning of the initial propositions, and we have to break that, break the shells of our understanding. It is not, kind of, an easy seed that just grows; you actually have to crack it open. (Interview, 2006)

Anna went on to highlight the significance of another less traditional form of knowledge - intuition and working from gut and heart:

... we think that our conscious mind has to run all of them but maybe our intuition is already looking; it's not formulaic. I have no idea how it works. But it does work. We have to think we have to control all of it, but maybe I believe in acknowledging [it]. (Interview, 2006)

Jane and Bella put Anna's ideas another way. Student teachers, Jane argued, need to move towards being able "to justify what they are doing", and they need to be able to make conscious and deliberate choices about the 'whys' of practice, as well as the 'whats' and 'hows'. Bella hooked her similar thinking into the idea of teaching for inclusiveness, collaboration, and power-sharing:

People have got different needs - obviously, cultural inclusiveness, which is once again easier; it is easier to pay lip service to than it is to see in practice. I suppose reinforcing the ideas that we work by at college about, where possible, having joint approaches to things and shared decision-making and ownership of the task, and all of that kind of stuff, and then right through to all the issues around assessment. (Interview, 2003)

Having an understanding of how the system operates at a macro level is part of what Sarah and several others called their professional knowledge. However, this 'knowing that' was just the first step in the developmental process towards knowing how and knowing why that turns knowledge per se into professional knowledge. As Sarah noted:

I think there's a whole lot of professional knowledge that needs to be talked about too. I can sometimes appear a very laughy, happy, friendly relaxed person, but I also have a strong professional discipline, and I think that's a professional knowledge - understanding that there is a professional knowledge and [that]

teachers need to build that professional knowledge. I think teachers need a clear idea of their role, but not only within a classroom. To be effective teachers, people need to actively familiarise themselves with the whole world of teaching, and it's not good enough to sit in the world of the classroom and not actually know what the Ministry of Education does or not know what initiatives are going on or the role of the ERO or the role of any community group involved in the school. That's not good enough. That bigger world. I think there is an obligation on teachers to actually go on developing their knowledge base all the time and actively seeking to know where they fit in and that bigger picture all the time [of schools and schooling], and be constantly updating that knowledge base. (Interview, 2006)

Jane and Anna picked up on similar issues when they emphasised the importance of understanding the diversity of school cultures, and acting in culturally sensitive ways. While not directly articulating the fact, Bella several times implied her own attention to issues of social justice, as did Anna. Understanding the implications for teaching and learning of the literacy needs of culturally diverse classrooms was another crucial area of their knowledge. These three teacher educators, especially, highlighted the need to demonstrate respect for the special place of the Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Treaty of Waitangi) and te reo Māori me nga tikanga-a-iwi in New Zealand education:

I haven't even talked about things like cultural learning and teaching about the treaty, and I don't think there should be a teacher going out to teach in New Zealand without high-level rudimentary knowledge in Maori (Anna, Interview, 2006)

They took very seriously their responsibility for informing prospective teachers and helping them make sense in practical pedagogical and attitudinal terms of key research relating to the needs of Māori and Pasifika learners within New Zealand classrooms. Again, for these teacher educators, the concern was not just a matter of knowing the research, theories, or cultures for their own sake. Rather, they saw knowledge of theory and culture as the foundation for the arguably more important task of constructing a personal/practical philosophy that constituted their knowing *why* they acted in certain ways as teacher educators.

Knowing self: expert knowledge as reflexivity

A related theme arising from the interviews was a strong sense of the importance of reflective practice, as both a mode and a goal of teacher education, as both a way of knowing and improving their own professional practice as teacher educators and a thing to be modelled to their students to assist their development as teachers, in turn.

Emerging as a common theme, and also considered more important than merely knowing *about* the various psychological theories of student learning, was the need for students to begin to understand the ‘self’ as learner and teacher. This necessarily involved the group, as teacher educators, in understanding the nature and value of research on the reflective process itself. This need had led them to become active and ongoing learners about their own learning and teaching processes, and to develop a ‘reflective stance’ in relation to their own practices. Bella put the notion this way when asked what she thought were some of the distinctive features of the knowledge of teacher educators:

One is to discover your own thinking and learning processes, and to engage with other people who are learning, so you learn something about learning and about knowledge and about thinking and you learn to build and unbuild ... That ability to engage with the concept of learning - that is the most important. (Interview, 2004)

Others of the group saw self-reflection as an essential corollary to their goal of developing a critically self-reflective disposition in their students.

That knowledge of themselves as learners, and exploring that, too, I think, is important. Why are they keen to learn? Why are they passionate about what they are passionate about ... I think those knowledges are really important, and it doesn’t necessarily come in a textbook or a reading. It is combined with exploring your own experiences as well and being able to tap into that and observe while they’re out [on teaching practice]. So it [being a teacher educator] is synthesising and bringing together all that knowledge about learning, and understanding about what happens in the teaching role while I am actually doing it, and what does teaching actually *mean*. (Rachel, Interview, 2006)

Using a metaphor of a building site demolition gang, Anna problematised critical reflection as a complex, sometimes difficult, uncomfortable, and even destructive process, but one that is necessary in order to create the cognitive dissonance needed for change:

Critical reflection can be quite simple, but I am talking much more about actually encountering the breakdowns, [being] the demolition gang sometimes. I don't see it as just lecturers hammering it and making you deconstruct things. It is about *doing it to yourself* often, but because you are working with other people who are seeking knowledge, it won't all be just measured critical reflection, it will be actual collisions. And they are quite healthy, and so is despair and "What is the meaning of all this?" I hope. Again, it is about the things we have talked about before - learning, unlearning, and relearning. (Interview, 2006)

Working with people who are learning means that teacher educators need to be co-learners themselves, and many, as Ali pointed out, do show a commitment to their own learning: "... another aspect of what a teacher educator is, they have to be somebody who is prepared to grow and to reach further and to push the boundaries ... and you need to be prepared to get out of your comfort zone ... you have to be prepared to continue learning".

For Sarah, this ability to self-critique also extended from classroom practice to educational policy and the official documents that enshrine it. Teacher education for her had to serve a democratising purpose. It had to ask the hard and critical questions about whose interests were served, what ideologies underpinned practice, what was missing, whose voices were not represented, and so forth.

Our role is to understand about teaching English in the classroom. So *they* have to have an understanding of the English curriculum. But at the same time, they need to be critics of the English curriculum, and they need to be constantly critiquing and reflecting on what they're doing as English teachers. So I try and present things and then also break them down and re-present them. So I would teach about the English curriculum but remind them this is only a man-made framework that we have at the moment, and it might not be perfect, but it is one, and we need to work within that, and this is what you need to do ... It's not the Bible. (Interview, 2006)

Building from her own doctoral work, Sarah positioned these self-challenging dispositions in terms of the development of self-efficacy. For her, self-efficacy, or belief in one's own capabilities to succeed, is the lynchpin of successful practice, both the students' and her own.

The thing we need to do most of all is build self-efficacy, I realise. I mean, if they haven't got that when they leave here, all else is to no avail. They might have all the knowledge in the world, they might understand how the system works, they might know about NCEA, they might know all this, but if they haven't got the self-efficacy to put it into practice, then it's a pointless exercise.

So I guess for me ... that's what I'm offering to the students. Sure, I'm giving them knowledge, and I'm giving them strategies, and I'm giving them skills. And I hope I'm modelling good teaching, but at the end of the day, what I'm trying to do is build the belief that they can do it ... I really believe if we don't do anything else in teacher education, what we need to do is build confident, efficacious teachers that believe they can make a difference. Because if they don't believe they can make a difference, there's no point in me going out there. (Interview, 2006)

The reflective stance that most members of the participant group argued was an important part of knowledge-building for student teachers was also something that they very much emphasised when modelling. Reflection was a process that most espoused or were proud of in their own practice and considered an imperative for teachers becoming teacher educators, but it was not a skill that they felt was universally understood, even among their own colleagues. Sarah, in particular, critiqued the lip-service often paid to reflective practice by teacher educators. For her, the practice carried connotations of moral intention and transformational change, and operated in both the cognitive and affective domains. But, she said, not all of her colleagues shared this conceptualisation:

I hate, I suppose, with an absolute sort of passion, the whole lip service we pay to "We are training them in reflective practices," especially when a lot of people I work with wouldn't know reflection if it fell over and bit them ... I have a real anxiety as a teacher educator that we think we're talking about the same things, and we're not...I think teacher educators need to have very clear ideas about what those things are. ... To me, it means allowing yourself the time to cry, to laugh, to stop, to pause, and to look and to look back and reassess things and learn from it, and take that learning and make it happen for someone else, so it's going to transform something else. Reflection for me isn't just like looking at something and talking about it; that's actually not enough. So it has to actually make a difference somewhere along the line ... when you talk about training a

reflective practitioner, what we're trying to do is keep people's minds open so that they can also see new things constantly. You know, I don't like this prescribed approach [of] "You will now reflect on this." That's not reflection.

There are similarities here to Anna's notion of 'resilience', where students, through guided interactive and experiential class-work, engage, for example, in role-play scenarios with their peers, and where teacher educators and their students alike need to develop the skills of mental toughness and flexibility, of learning with and from each other and of bouncing back from uncomfortable situations. All the educators considered knowledge adaptation (or, as Anna put it, teacher educators' ability to "learn, unlearn, and relearn") an important aspect of teacher educator knowledge. They saw it as an aspect more in keeping with a twenty-first century educational and technological world characterised by change and uncertainty than with twentieth century industrial models of teacher education, which they described as instrumentalist and content-heavy. On the one hand, knowledge adaptation was something that many of them stressed they needed to, in respect of their students, actively and consciously 'teach', articulate, and bring out from the 'hidden' into the 'overt' curriculum of teacher education. On the other hand, knowledge adaptation was something that they saw as a primary mode of professional development for themselves. One learned to be a teacher educator by actively and critically reflecting on the lived experience of being a teacher educator.

Moreover, knowing self as a teacher educator was, for all the group, not store-bought or off-the-shelf, as it were, from the pantheon or A to Z of theorists. Nor was it 'book-learned'. Theory and formal academic study (either studies of theory through informal reading and research or formal study through Master's or doctoral work) helped all of them assign meaningful labels to their lived experience as teacher educators. But this approach neither preceded nor provided a substitute for this lived experience as a way of developing their personal/professional philosophies of teacher education.

Knowing others: expert knowledge as ethicality and being 'other-oriented'

Teaching is by definition a socio-ethical act - it is to try to do good for an other.
(Ham & Kane, 2004, p.127)

The final key element of distinctive teacher educator knowledge to emerge from the interviews was the notion that, to be an effective teacher educator, one needs to acknowledge the job's essential ethicality and moral purpose, and that this involves an active engagement

with, and knowledge of, the ‘others’ - namely, the (school) student and the student teacher - as much as it involves active or critical reflection on one’s self as a teacher of both of these groups.

Everyone in the group saw developing high-quality inter-personal relationships, and the ability to generate a sense of collaboration and community, as integral to teacher educators’ work and as key elements of their professional skill set. As teacher educators, they not only had to critically ‘know’ themselves; they also had to empathetically ‘know’ their student teachers, in order to support and mentor them towards autonomy and independence as neophyte teachers, so that they, in turn, could support student diversity in the classroom.

For all the group, their expert teacher educator knowledge was distinctively ‘other-oriented’ and underpinned by an “ethic of care” (Noddings, 1984). That these values are strongly in tune with recent New Zealand research and initiatives on making a difference for Māori and Pasifika learners were seen as giving more robustness in the cultural context within which these teacher educators were working. At the heart of the findings of major national research and development projects such as the aforementioned *Te Kotahitanga* (Bishop, 1996, 2005, Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai, & Richardson, 2003), AIMHI (Hawk & Hill, 1996), and recent work relating to indigenous epistemology (Macfarlane, Glynn, Grace, Penetito, & Bateman, 2008), is an emphasis on understanding other world views and diverse learning needs and values. For example, caring relationships (*manakitanga*), building and maintaining relationships (*whakawhanaungatanga*), taking responsibility for and control over one’s learning (*rangatiratanga*), and balancing individual learning and achievement against group needs and well-being are central to Macfarlane et al.’s conceptualisation of what constitutes a Māori epistemology in education.

Moral purpose

While the group members saw development of personal relationships as foundational for their work, their different personal beliefs and commitments motivated and drove their practices as individuals. Lewis, for example, repeatedly returned to the importance of helping his student teachers develop a sense of themselves as teachers by developing what he called “a standing place” and a philosophy. One way he deliberately did this was by sharing his own principles of practice and by making these explicit in ways he would not have done as a teacher of school students.

When working with student teachers, you can certainly be, or need to be, more open ... If you want them to think about their own philosophy, you have to give

them a touchstone, which means you have got to talk about your own, and be up front about your own beliefs about teaching. Whereas kids in the classroom, even senior kids, don't necessarily need to [have] your technical skills made explicit, they don't need to know your teacher philosophy, they just need to see how it is relevant in what you teach to them. (Interview, 2003)

Lewis touched again and again on the core values that gave him his "place to stand" as a teacher educator, the key one of these being his sense of moral purpose:

If you don't have a place to stand in teaching, you can't survive. In teacher education, if you don't have a place to stand and a real commitment to teaching as being an inherently good activity in itself - and you have got to believe inherently that teaching is a worthwhile thing to do, that it is important, and that after being a doctor, there is no other job more important than teaching. So, you have really got to have that, otherwise that can be tested. (Interview, 2003)

I do have an absolute belief that education is important. There are other things I think about daily life that I think ... "Why would you care?" ... but I never ever have that feeling about teaching. (Interview, 2004)

For Lewis, then, his moral purpose was his commitment to the "learning of kids in classrooms". This was the touchstone that guided his decision-making and helped him avoid the complex ethical dilemmas that he might have found himself in otherwise:

... as a teacher educator, you sometimes have to make complex decisions with lots of variables, my experiences being that unless you consistently go back to what is good for the kids in the classroom when you are making decisions, then you are lost. So, in dealing with a student who may have problems here at college, in dealing with the student, I always have in the back of my mind that hundreds of students out there in that classroom that the student teacher is going to affect. If you get away from that ... then things become horribly complicated. ... If you don't keep your eye on the kids in school, your way of approaching things and decision-making as a teacher educator leads to terrible ethical dilemmas. (Interview, 2004)

Empowerment

A further other-oriented aspect of teacher educator expertise that the teacher educators highlighted was the importance of acknowledging and paying attention to students' prior

learning and to what students ‘brought with them’ as existing personal and/or professional ability. The educators considered it important to understand the ways in which student teachers’ prior knowledge and experiences of schooling can act as both enablers and barriers to change and new learning. While comments, at other times, about the ‘gaps’ that student teachers have on arrival might imply that they tended to take a deficit approach to thinking about students’ content knowledge and learning, they all, in fact, evinced a deep and frequently expressed respect for the wealth of experiences and skills that student teachers bring to their learning.

For example, they all saw exploring student teachers’ own preferred and successful ways of learning as a prerequisite to planning their classroom strategies. Ali, along with several others, used a variety of methods to draw out students’ expectations, assumptions and beliefs from their prior experience of learning and teaching. These included autobiography, ongoing journal writing, image-making, and story-telling, to name just a few. For Lewis, gaining knowledge of his students required him to pay heed to the stages of concern (Fuller, 1969) that students typically go through, and then to shape his teaching focus accordingly.

For all, empowering their students also involved a commitment to rendering themselves redundant, by moving their students through greater or lesser reliance on the wisdom and experience of others in respect of their learning and ultimately to bring them to a stage of learner independence and autonomy.

The other thing that I ... say to the students, and it doesn’t always work, is that “Hopefully, by the end of the year, you won’t need me,” because isn’t that the whole point of every teacher, that you empower people to do things for themselves? And, so, at the end of the year, hopefully they can say, “Well, I have learnt as much from this guy as I can, and away I go.” I keep on learning from associates. You work hard to make yourself redundant, which is interesting. So those are the things that I really hang onto. (Interview, 2005)

Lewis’s comments tie in with Sarah’s discussion of the importance of self-efficacy as a step towards this independence, and Jane and Ali’s constant reference to scaffolding their students towards empowerment and autonomy.

Other-oriented professional knowledge

The teacher educators talked of a number of particular strategies, theories, and/or interpersonal skills that enabled them to better facilitate the scaffolding and empowerment

process. Sarah, for example, highlighted her understanding of personal change management and her knowledge of the theory of self-efficacy.

Knowing how people react to change and understanding about change management, hugely important, and those are things that I've learnt. A student once said to me, "This course is really packed, and you make us work really fast, and I don't think you leave us any time to cry." And I think that was really poignant ... I thought that was really interesting, quite a telling comment. So I think that we need to be aware of - to know - what people's needs are. I think we need to provide times to laugh and times to cry, and those down times are as important as the up times. (Interview, 2006)

For Sarah, moreover, self-efficacy had a strong affective component, focussed more on her ability to build her students' confidence than on her ability to build their (cognitive) knowledge-base.

I realise the huge, huge importance of building people's confidence and celebrating their strengths ... I think building their [confidence] here as a teacher educator is really important ... just knowing how to manage people and get people on side and making people feel like they own their own decisions in their own professional lives. That whole sense of agency ... is really important, and you've got to really think about how you do it, and I'm constantly aware of it, even in our programme with people that come in who are more mature students who have lived what you know [are] important lives. (Interview, 2006)

Sarah also described another essential ingredient in her kete of professional expertise - the "X factor in teacher education [which is] about the whole culture of care ... [something] that has to be modelled and has to be deeply felt and, it has to be sincere". She said that this thinking underpinned all her expertise and practice. It was about caring for her students' professional growth, which might at times require her to take a tough stance:

Some people think pastoral care is about doing things at a surface level to make sure everyone's warm and fuzzy. I think it's a lot more than that. For me, the culture of care of that X factor is about providing ongoing opportunities and making sure you're actually ahead of your students in terms of the moment and the opportunities that you're providing for them to grow. That to me is about caring. So you're caring about their professional growth and their personal

growth; caring about them as people and as spiritual beings, as well. And that doesn't mean picking up the pieces ... I'm into growing strong people, and I'm into challenging people towards growth and being able to be pushed over the edge and learning to fly, and I think that is really caring for someone. To me, there's quite a difference. (Interview, 2006)

The other members of the group expressed similar ideas, but more simply under the generic umbrella of their own 'people skills': skills of active listening; a willingness to share; having empathy; responding appropriately to diversity in all its forms; having the ability to build a sense of collegial community. As Jane said:

People skills has got to be an important factor, and that ability to have some empathy with people, and to be able to recognise the journey and the struggles that perhaps they are making. Because a lot of graduate-level [students] who come into the courses have to make huge shifts, and to have the ability to understand the shifts that they are having to make, and be able to listen. ... You've got to find ways that help them to begin the journey, so you need to understand what they do and listen to the difficulties that they are having. So, those skills I see as important. But, obviously, they are not going to be enough. We're not here as counsellors or that sort of thing, [but] often that comes into it! (Interview, 2004)

Dan expressed his thoughts this way:

There's got to be a good valuing of people and to respect and get excited about the learning that people do ... as with any teaching, it's at heart people skills, it's the ability to work with other people, to understand their learning needs. - even more so than in a secondary school. You've got to be able to work with and alongside people, to develop a group of learners that are, like, people who are interested in the same sort of thing and therefore want to explore things together. So, that the skill [is] to be able to identify with the group or get a group working together in such a way that you feel that you are working with them towards a goal collaboratively. (Interview, 2004)

And for Ali:

This is their first year of induction into the profession, and part of that induction is being able to behave as a colleague, and that's colleagues to each other and colleagues to me. (Interview, 2004)

The 'nestedness' of teacher educators' expertise

The final theme that emerged from the group's discussion of their expertise as teacher educators is not, strictly speaking, a knowledge or ability, but it was nevertheless a distinctive and often-referred-to feature of what they felt made their professional knowledge and expertise distinctive, if not unique. This was their consciousness of the particularly recursive or 'nested' nature of their professional knowledge and practice.

One of the expectations of the job of teacher education that they described as 'new' or different from school teaching was the need for them to operate constantly on a variety of meta-cognitive and layered levels. Teacher educators not only have to teach subject and curriculum content and skills but they also have to teach (and simultaneously at that) *about* teaching by deconstructing the knowing *how*, the act, processes, and the nature of teaching. For Russell (1997), the former is what he calls the "content turn" in teacher education. The latter is what he calls the "pedagogical turn" in teacher education. Hamilton (2004, p. 400) describes this recursion in another way: "... teacher educators are the more capable Others preparing their students to be more capable Others for their students in public school settings".

The brief interview excerpts that follow attempt to describe this concept of nestedness:

Teacher education is a terribly complex process [that] we are working on [at] so many different levels. (Rachel)

[I try] to get them to experience it as a student and then to step back so that they see it from both perspectives - both the student perspective and then putting the teacher hat on, and trying to see what learning processes are, and how it facilitated learning, and then trying to problematise it. (Ali)

[I am] helping the people I work with, and showing them how they can help the people who *they* are working with. (Ali)

The teacher educator will model the ways that the learning can take place so that they can experience teaching in a manner that, in my case, I would like to see teaching happening. (Lewis)

I'm modelling as I work to teach a class. I'm modelling pedagogy. I try to model how I would teach students in the classroom, while at the same time be conscious that I am working with adults. (Rachel)

I am teaching adults who are teaching kids. (Sarah)

So it's synthesising and bringing together all that knowledge about learning. (Sarah)

When Rachel spoke of “working on so many different levels” or Sarah spoke of “teaching adults who are teaching kids ...[and] understanding about what happens in the teaching role *while I am actually doing it*”, when Jane spoke of “engaging [sic] with other people who are learning, so you learn something about learning”, when Lewis spoke of his hope that an observer of his teacher education classes would “hear me saying, ‘Okay you are going into the classroom module, I am going to give some instructions now, and this is how you might give instructions’”, they were all showing their sometimes explicit and sometimes implicit awareness of the inherent nestedness of the expert knowledge of teacher education. They were showing their commonly held expertise ideal of teaching about teaching *through* and *by* teaching.

The distinctions, therefore, that other kinds of teachers (in disciplines other than teacher education) are able to make between subject content and pedagogy, between the thing taught and the way it is taught, and between the medium and the message, tend to blur and conflate when what ‘you’ are charged to teach is teaching itself. For these teacher educators, the lines differentiating their knowing ‘that’ from knowing ‘how’, or their understandings from their practice, were fine, if not invisible. This inextricable intertwining of areas of knowledge and understanding with skills and abilities and with dispositions and attitudes emerged as a key feature of the way the teacher educators conceptualised their own professional knowledge. That it did so is likely the inevitable consequence of the inherently recursive nature of the teacher education enterprise.

Conclusion: What Makes Teacher Educators’ Professional Knowledge and Expertise Distinctive?

This chapter has focused on the teacher educators’ descriptions of what they needed to know and to be able to do as teacher educators. It has focused on what represented their specialised knowledge and expert identities as teacher educators.

Before entering teacher education, all the teacher educators in the study had been, for many years, practising classroom teachers in high schools. All had extensive experience as associate teachers or as mentors of neophyte teachers in schools. All came from middle or senior management positions in schools, and all had experience in inducting new teachers into their departments. However, while they all brought to their teacher education jobs significant prior curriculum, content, and pedagogical expertise, they all discovered that, as teacher educators, they were expected not only to be expert pedagogues in their own subject areas but also to do the following: expand, justify, unpack, and theorise their content knowledge and their pedagogical knowledge; learn new areas of propositional, procedural, and personal knowledge, and deepen existing such knowledge; and be able to explicitly theorise hitherto tacit practice. In short, they learned that the knowledge and abilities they had possessed as effective teachers were a prerequisite for - but not commensurate with - the knowledge and the abilities they needed to be effective teacher educators.

They saw this complex professional knowledge as consisting of much more than *knowing that* - Kessels & Korthagen's (2001) characterisation of propositional knowledge - and, in many ways, of much more than *knowing how*. For them, professional knowledge included pedagogical content knowledge and, beyond that again, the development of professional skills and abilities (which they did not differentiate from other professional knowledge') and the fostering of certain valued personal and professional dispositions that were part of their own ethical agendas. Their definition of the teacher education 'curriculum' in this sense was thus not confined to the 'stuff' to be taught and learned, but was inextricably linked to the way it was taught and learned, the reasons for teaching and learning it, and the personal growth of both the teachers and learners engaged in it. They similarly had a conception of their own professional knowledge in which what they taught was inseparable from how they taught it, what they read about it was inseparable from what they personally experienced, and what they knew was of little value outside its translation into ethical social action for the benefit of others. Knowledge for its own sake had little place in their conception of teacher education as an academic discipline compared to knowledge for the sake of others.

In describing what it was that made their expertise most distinctive, they tended to refer most to what Rachel called its "terrible complexity". However, I would argue that 'comprehensiveness' would be a better term, because it implies both teacher education's internal complicatedness as an expert practice, and its cross-disciplinary breadth and inclusiveness as a body of knowledge.

Furthermore, this comprehensiveness seemed to exist in three key dimensions. First, what the teacher educators represented as their distinct professional expertise had a strong performative element. Like the professional knowledge of the medical surgeon (but unlike that, for instance, of the historian or the physicist) it was very much an expertise founded in the notion of a knowledge-in-action. It had a performative quality to it because knowledge and action were not just complementary but entirely interdependent. This was implicit in the primacy they gave to their knowing *how* over their knowing *that*, as well as in the emphasis they gave to articulated modelling - learning theory *through* practice - and to providing and facilitating learning *experiences* rather than merely passing on knowledge in their descriptions of their enacted pedagogies.

To a greater extent than what they considered was the case for their education colleagues in the academy, they felt they had to 'walk their own talk' - to exemplify and embody educational theory in their daily professional actions and practice. *At the same time*, and to a greater extent than their schoolteacher colleagues, they felt they had to 'talk their own walk' - to know and to constantly articulate the theory and intent behind their own practice.

Related to this consideration, but still arguably distinguishable from it, is the second dimension of teacher education's comprehensiveness: as professional expertise, teacher education is distinctly, perhaps even uniquely, recursive. There is a 'nestedness' in the expertise of teacher educators, and in teacher education as a set of educational activities, because the processes and the content of teaching and learning are not just conceptually inseparable, they are those things themselves. Teaching about teaching, like learning about learning, is inherently meta-cognitive and recursive in nature, and thereby inherently different in some fundamental way from teaching or learning about anything else. For the teacher educators, their knowledge was the knowledge that *they* needed to have to help student teachers develop the knowledge that *they* needed to have, so that they, in turn, could help student learners in schools gain the knowledge that *they* needed to have. They were the teachers of learners who were themselves the teachers of yet other learners in schools, as Hamilton (2004) notes. The central professional knowledge or expertise question for the teacher educators, then became that of how do you teach, when the thing you are teaching is teaching itself?

The common response to such a question among the group was essentially three-pronged, and was much the same as their response to the issue of performativity. One teaches teaching by constantly attending to an embodied modelling of the various pedagogies under

consideration, by constantly planning articulation of the specific educative processes being engaged in at any one time (by walking it *and* talking it), and by knowing how to design and facilitate the highly experiential forms of learning activity that exemplify the process.

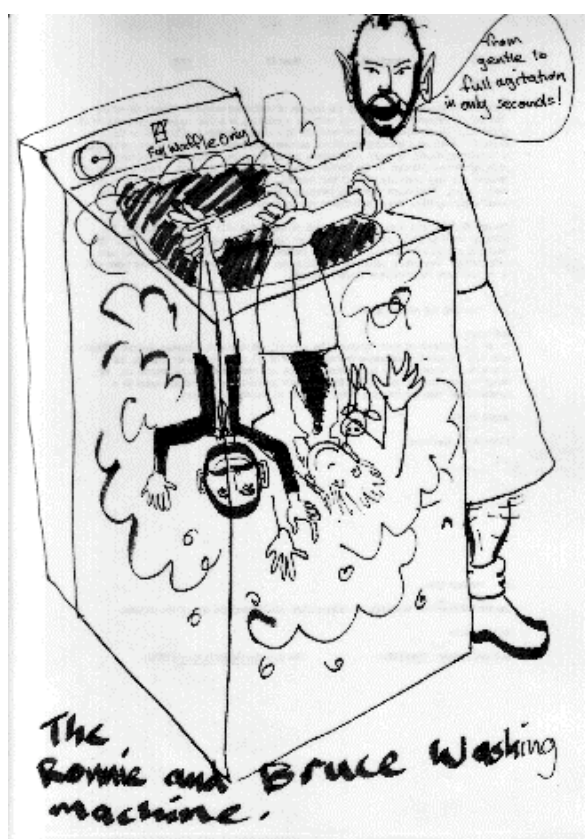
The third distinctive dimension of the comprehensiveness of the educators' expert professional knowledge that emerged was the notion that their knowledge base was especially expansive and inclusive, even generalist, in its scope. This premise held not just in relation to the knowledge base that they had needed as school teachers, but also in relation to the knowledge bases, as they perceived them, required of other academic disciplines. In needing to know about educational theories in general, or about the 'profession' as encompassing everything from national policy to staffroom lore, and in representing their knowledge as about all of knowing how, why, when, self, and others, as well as 'that', the members of the group evoked the broad scope of their identity as 'knowledge experts'. Indeed, they seemed to live in a professional world in which the need to grow outranked any mere need to know, and in which becoming more generalist in expertise was a better description of their own career development, and their growing into the job over time, than becoming more academically specialist. But this process was far from static. As another colleague (P.C. 2009) put it over coffee one day:

I get the impression that, in most fields of academia, success is defined by knowing more and more about less and less. You know, becoming increasingly specialised. That 'head of a pin' stuff. In our job [though], it seems we always have to know more and more about more and more.

INTERLUDE: ON BEING A TEACHER EDUCATOR

‘Images’ of Teacher Educators

Figure 2: Student cartoons of the author and a colleague ‘being’ teacher educators (1999)



CHAPTER 7. ON BEING A TEACHER EDUCATOR

To others we are what we do or know.

To ourselves we are what we think, feel and believe.

(Colleague, Personal Communication entered in Journal, June 2006)

Introduction: Identity as Roles and Personae

The aspects of teacher educators' professional identity that I have explored to this point emphasise, in many ways, the 'professional' side of the concept of professional identity - that is, how the teacher educators involved experienced their career shifts from teacher to teacher educator, what they saw as the legitimate scope of a teacher educator job description, and what they regarded as their distinctive knowledge base and professional expertise as teacher educators. In this chapter, I bring the focus more consciously on the 'identity' aspects of professional identity, through a closer investigation of the role that the 'personal' plays within the 'professional'.

In one sense, professional identity is a very public phenomenon because it is represented through a set of distinct social behaviours and has various forms of public expression. Teaching and teacher education are, by definition, social, 'other'-oriented, activities. But professional identity is also an intensely personal phenomenon. It may be publicly expressed but it is quite privately located. It is forged as much in the crucible of our own sense of personal 'being' and it is in our own emotionalities as in our responses to the external, social, and contextual pressures that operate upon us. It is our personal response to our public experience - Mead's dialectic of the 'I' and the 'Me'. A discussion of teacher educators' professional identity that does not go beyond career history, task description, and expertise is thus incomplete. Also needed for those of us who are teacher educators is a discussion of how that sense of the personal relates to our sense of the professional, a discussion of our personal 'self-images', and a discussion of our general sense of 'being' as teacher educators.

For the teacher educators in the study, being a teacher educator in respect of *task* or *function* meant being a teacher, a researcher, a scholar, a community leader, and so on. Yet this list does not adequately capture what it was *like* for them to be a teacher educator or how they conceptualised it as a professional *experience*, in all that this implies. When they performed the various tasks and functions of teacher educator outlined in the previous

chapters, what were the various ‘personae’ that they saw themselves taking on, and what did that *feel* like for them? This chapter thus evokes in a more comprehensive way, the teacher educators’ emerging ‘self-image’, first through a discussion of the various ‘roles’ that they played out in their professional lives, and then, of what in affective terms, *being* a teacher educator meant for them. I explore the ways in which they conceptualised their various professional personae, and describe the resulting dilemmas and tensions that characterised, for them, the emotionality of being a teacher educator.

Professional Personae: Identity as a ‘Lived Life’

A strong theme in the research on school teacher thinking is that of teachers’ inability, or unwillingness, to separate their personal selves from their professional selves. School teaching is sometimes described as having a strong element of performance, in almost a theatrical sense, as a form of social acting. However, in most teachers’ self-perceptions, any ‘performance’ involved is much more embedded, and very different from a mere theatrical analogy of pretending to be ‘somebody else’ in the classroom. Rather, being a teacher is represented much more as a true fusion of *both* the personal and the professional elements of one’s identity, of both emotional and cognitive elements (Denzin, 1984; Hargreaves, 1998; Nias, 1996). While those in many other professions, such as law or medicine, might require exactly that separation, celebrating in their identities the virtues of dispassionate objectivity, and enjoining themselves as a profession ‘not to get involved’ with those who benefit from their professional work, teachers tend to the opposite. They celebrate, and even require of themselves, their own emotional involvement - what Berci (2007) refers to as “teaching who they are” (p. 73). Or, as Palmer (1998, p. 13) put it, “... teaching comes from the identity and integrity of the teacher”.

A key concept emerging from the identity literature is the notion that our identity is not a singularity but is better conceived of as overlapping, multiple, dynamic, unstable, and relative. It involves multiple ‘selves’, each of which is continually reconstructed and expressed in the various ‘personae’ and ‘roles’ that we take on during the course of our work. For example, Gee (2000) describes identity as being a certain “kind of person” at a particular point and place in time and having others recognise us as such. We each have multiple externalised identities connected to our performances in society, which may or may not be congruent with the ‘me’ we see ourselves as being - that which Gee calls our “core identity” or “internal states” (p. 99). Roughly analogous to Gee’s internal state or core identity (the me

we see ourselves as) is the concept put forward by Markus and Nurius (1986) of “possible self/selves” - the self or selves that are a key part of our internalised, individualised, or personalised identity, “a cognitive manifestation of enduring goals, aspirations, motives fears and threats” (p. 954). While these possible selves are individualised or personalised, they are also socially constructed. Markus and Nurius also imply that we all have (an) ideal self/selves, that may or may not be expressed externally as the “certain kind of person” (or ‘me’ we present to the world).

An additional consideration is our need for congruity between our own sense of self and our sense of our place in the world and how others see us. When our personal sense of self - what Gee calls our *N Identity* - is at odds with our sense of either what the world expects of us or what we want to be seen as, we experience what Erikson coined an ‘identity crisis’.

With these notions in mind, I analyse in the first section of this chapter, the teacher educators’ professional self-image, and try to evoke something of both their internalised and externalised personae or images of self. What ‘possible selves’ emerged from the interviews? What *kind* of a teacher educator did they see themselves as being? And what were the consequences when these selves were at odds with the expectations of others?

The Emotionality of Being

Good teaching is ... not just a matter of knowing one’s subject, being efficient, having the correct competencies or learning the right techniques. Good teachers are not just well-oiled machines. They are emotional passionate beings, who connect with their students and fill their work with pleasure, creativity, challenge and joy. ... Emotions are at the heart of teaching. (Hargreaves, 1998, p. 835)

A second theme emerging from the literature on teachers’ thinking and identity is the role of emotionality in defining and expressing that identity. Increasing attention is being paid in the literature on teacher thinking to the central role that emotions play in teaching and teacher development (Acker, 1992, 1999; Hargreaves, 1998, 2000, 2001; Nias, 1989b, 1996; Kelchtermans, 1996; Sutton & Wheatley, 2003; Zembylas, 2003a, 2003b, 2005). This work is based on the premise that teaching is not just a technical or cognitive practice but also an emotional practice and emotional investment (Hargreaves, 1998). How we think about our

job is inseparable from how we feel about it. As Nias (1996) notes, “[If]...the emotions are rooted in cognition, then one cannot separate feeling from perception, affectivity from judgement” (p. 293). In our professional identities, then, emotion, cognition, perception, and action are inextricably connected, and just as these cannot be separated from each other, nor can they be detached from the social or cultural forces that help shape and are in turn shaped by them (Nias, 1996).

Many studies highlight the central role that positive emotional qualities such as caring, sensitivity, excitement, thoughtfulness, and intuition play in school teaching. These have included studies of the tactful nature of teaching (Van Manen, 1993), the role of caring (Acker, 1992; Connelly & Clandinin, 1988; Noddings, 1992) and passion (Fried, 1995) in teaching, ‘pedagogical pleasures’ (McWilliam, 1999), and the ‘connoisseurship’ of teachers (Eisner, 1977, 1991). Also included are studies of teachers’ anger, guilt, and frustration (Bullough, 1991; Bullough, Knowles, & Crow, 1991; Grumet, 1988; Hargreaves & Tucker, 1991; Nias, 1989a; Winograd, 2003).

Other studies have sought to clarify the links between the emotions that teachers experience as part of their work, and their identities (Denzin, 1984; Zembylas, 2003b). Nias (1996), for example, shows that school teachers’ investment of their personal selves in their work often results in a close merging of personal and professional identities, such that their teaching becomes the main site for professional self-esteem and fulfilment and hence also for vulnerability. Kelchtermans (1996) argues, in a similar vein, that teachers feel positive about themselves when they feel able to act in ways that are consistent with their values, but not when they feel they are under pressure to act in ways that run counter to those values.

The connection between emotions and identity is a complex area, and the relationship between them can be constructed and construed in different ways. Hochschild (1983), for example, argues that emotions can be used in a workplace as a commodity with an exchange value and something that can work against educators. She uses the term “emotional labour”, to describe the way in which teachers may mask, suppress, or fabricate different feelings and presentations of self at work in order to maintain an appropriate public and professional identity. Seen in this way, emotional labour can be negative and debilitating, making teachers vulnerable when the emotionally charged aspects of work involved in teaching, such as ‘pastoral care’, become difficult to support or to do properly (Hargreaves, 1998). Constanti & Gibbs (2004) and Hargreaves (1998) also argue that the intangible qualities of emotions like care are deemed of little value by policy-makers, so their enactment can come at a high cost, particularly in times of change or reform. Forrester (2005) takes this even further,

labelling the emotional work of teachers as “non-work” (p. 274) in the sense that it counts for little in terms of economic or extrinsic benefit.

Conversely, it has also been suggested that ‘emotional labour’ can be seen as positive, pleasurable, and rewarding, especially when it is seen to serve rather than suppress the valued moral purposes held by individuals (Oatley, 1991). O’Connor (2008) suggests, for example, that these ethical and humanistic dimensions of school teachers’ work are often well-springs of intrinsic motivation that inspire them to remain in the profession.

Either way, much current literature about emotions and emotionality in professional identity has tended to treat it as a “matter of personal and moral choice, commitment and responsibility ... at the expense of considering how sociological, political and institutional forces shape and reshape the emotional landscapes of teaching for good or ill, in different ways under different conditions” (Hargreaves, 1998, p. 836). Zembylas (2003a, 2005) adopts a post-structuralist view that extends on Hargreaves’ concerns, arguing that even a social-constructionist view fails to address the role of culture and ideology and the power relations involved. It is therefore important to investigate not only how the emotional nature of teaching is shaped by individual and social factors, but also how school culture, power, and ideology work to create *emotion discourses*, and the ways in which teachers participate in these discourses by adopting or resisting them. Viewed in this way, “... emotions themselves function as a discursive practice in which emotional expression is productive - that is to say, it makes people into socially and culturally specific persons engaged in complex webs of power relations” (Zembylas, 2005, p. 937). Zembylas argues that emotions are constituted through language and refer to a wider social life. In this way, ‘emotion talk’ is inherently imbued with power relations that permit some emotions while prohibiting others.

Also relevant to this discussion is a consideration of the educational change literature, some of which focuses on teachers’ identity responses when they are required by new policy initiatives to change their current beliefs or practices. Waters, Marzano, and McNulty (2003), for example, distinguish between levels of change that teachers may be asked to undergo. ‘First order’ change is a level of change that has congruence with people’s existing values, knowledge, and skills. However, undergoing ‘second order’ change involves dissonance and challenge to deeply held beliefs and values. Also called ‘adaptive change’, this type of change involves changing hearts and minds and not just behaviours and preferences. Such change may be threatening, deeply disturbing, and destabilising, and it becomes a site for powerful negative emotions.

Adaptive change stimulates resistance because it challenges people's habits, beliefs, and values. It asks them to take a loss, experience uncertainty, and even express disloyalty to people and cultures. Because adaptive change asks people to question and perhaps refine aspects of their identity, it also challenges their sense of competence. Loss, disloyalty, and feeling incompetent. That's a lot to ask. No wonder people resist. (Heifetz & Linsky, 2002, cited in Fullan, 2003, p. 34)

Even though such levels of change are frequently associated with feelings of uncertainty, inadequacy, disequilibrium, and other negative emotions, emotions *per se*, according to Hargreaves (1998), tend only to be talked about in such literature when organisations consider it politic to do so in order to facilitate their own institutional agendas - "insofar as they help administrators and reformers 'manage' and offset teachers' resistance to change, or help them set the climate or mood in which the 'really important' business of cognitive learning or strategic planning can take place" (p. 837).

The research cited has been done in the context of teaching and schools. However, a few studies have looked at some of these phenomena in higher education. Acker and Feuerwerker's (1996) study of Canadian women academics, pertinently titled "Doing Good and Feeling Bad", explores the dilemmas for women facing the contradictions of being both caring women and productive academics and problematises the contribution made by organisational and institutional practices. They contend that adherence to the "caring script" reinforces stereotypical "cultural prescriptions and perceptions" about women's roles (p. 401). Walker, Gleaves, and Grey's (2006) small-scale qualitative study involving newly appointed academics in a medium-sized regional English university reports a similar 'discourse of difference' between how many academics and their institutional managers conceptualise the student body and needs, and the consequent impact of that difference on new higher education teachers' identities and aspirations.

While the role of emotions in relation to resolving puzzles of practice (Munby & Russell, 1990, 1995) may be an implicit theme for many engaged in the self-study area of teacher education research, it seldom forms the empirical focus or core of such studies (see, for example, Berry, 2004; Loughran, 2006). More often than not, the emotional components of teacher educators' professional identities are assumed to be simply analogous with those of the teachers they teach (Kelchtermans & Hamilton, 2004). Those few teacher educator studies that *do* make the affective component of teacher educator identity a focus of specific

study, such as the higher education studies above, tend to highlight the tensions and ambivalences experienced in relation to such considerations as the contradictory demands of policy reforms or institutional compliance cultures (Cole, 1999), the difficulties of enacting an ‘ethic of care’ without being drawn into the abyss of ‘emotional labour’ (Sumsion, 2000), challenging student teachers around issues of social justice (Zeichner, 1995), enacting a pedagogy that is consistent with their own pedagogical beliefs (Berry, 2004), and coping with a precarious professional status (Maguire, 2000).

Robinson and McMillan (2006), in their study of South African teacher educators undergoing a change of institutional culture, also highlight uncomfortable tensions relating to the research/teaching nexus and the challenges to old identities experienced by teacher educators in newly amalgamated institutions (a common experience for most of the teacher educators in this study). When faced with forced paradigm shifts, powerful competing discourses thus come into play and certain tenacious ‘teacher’ identity constructs persist. Any process of change must therefore take into account the motivations and attitudes of teacher educators themselves. As Robinson and McMillan note, merely “freeing up spaces in a timetable for reflection, research and enquiry is unlikely to be a sufficient condition for the promotion of such enquiry” (2006, p. 334). In this South African case, as was also the case for my teacher educators when scoping their job descriptions, pressures to engage in research and to teach and to manage have, in fact, led to what Coaldrake and Stedman (1999, p. 9) call “accumulation and accretion” of workload, rather than any genuine ‘adaptation’ of their core identity.

These few studies, then, hint that being a teacher educator, particularly in times of institutional reform and cultural change, is an even more uncomfortable and challenging state than being a school teacher, and is not simply analogous to it. But how deep do these emotional commitments run? Are these the only sources of ambivalence or tension that teacher educators experience in their jobs? And how does the affective domain articulate itself in, and affect the construction of, teacher educators’ images of themselves as professionals?

Metaphor as a Window on Professional Identity

The power of language and linguistic discourse to shape practice, power relationships, and identity highlights the value of exploring how professionals use and are shaped by the metaphors they choose to describe themselves and their work (Breault, 2006).

Although metaphor has been historically relegated to the margins by science as an aesthetic and rhetorical device more associated with ‘ornamentation’ than knowledge, linguists, philosophers and educationalists have recently begun to recognise the pervasive role that metaphor plays in how we think of ourselves (Richardson, 1997) and its usefulness in evoking otherwise hidden or obscure elements of a social discourse. Lakoff and Johnson (1980b), for example, claim that metaphors are deep-seated devices we use to make sense of an experience or a phenomenon in terms of another. Metaphors are fundamental to our attempts to find coherence in, categorise, and make sense of our world and our place in it: “We seek out personal metaphors to highlight and make coherent our own pasts, our present activities ... a large part of self-understanding is the search for appropriate personal metaphors that make sense of our lives (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980b, p. 233).

Culturally and socially defined, metaphors, like other mental models, are associated with analogical reasoning: “... our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980a, p. 454). Moser (2000) notes that “Metaphors are a linguistic manifestation of tacit knowledge, which is easily accessible because metaphorical expressions cannot be avoided in everyday or professional language ... [they] are holistic representations of understanding and knowledge” (n.p., electronic source).

Metaphors then, can both determine and also reflect our personal world-views. They have the power “to create a reality ... that becomes a deeper reality when we begin to act in terms of it” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980b, pp. 144–145). In using metaphor as a window into self-image, we need to be cognisant of the all-pervasive cultural assumptions that are embedded in the metaphors we use, and of the ways in which they help to construct, pre-empt, and enable meaning as well as to limit, constrain, and control the ways we see the world. Lakoff and Johnson (1980b) also contend that metaphor is a useful tool for “trying to comprehend partially what cannot be comprehended totally” (p. 193), while Carter (1990, p. 110) sees metaphor as a tool “for framing the meanings that persons assign to events and actions and [for] communicating messages about such meanings which are difficult to capture in literal language.”

Beijaard et al.’s (2000) study of school teachers’ perceptions of professional identity, for example, notes that expert teachers tend to organise their knowledge and their sense of self into more encompassing units expressed as metaphors and images. Clandinin and Connelly (1995) argue similarly that metaphors offer holistic representations of understanding and knowledge that are both easily accessible and have embedded in them

associations and connotations that give them power as a linguistic manifestation of both tacit conceptual knowledge and personal practical knowledge (Clandinin 1986; Connelly & Clandinin, 2000). Indeed, attending to how people describe their world may well offer clues as to how they construct and act in the world (Bullough, 1997b; Munby & Russell, 1990). By this argument, metaphor becomes an important way of structuring, extending and voicing experience, and of self-formation.

Shared metaphors, moreover, can be a vital part of the binding discourses of the communities into which we negotiate membership and as such, they “mark off boundaries and define conditions of membership” (Taylor, 1989, p. 17). Though the converse can also be true, as Bullough and Stokes (1994) note: “[When] institutionalized discourses press conformity, and discourage alternative metaphors, they anonymously co-author our stories” (p. 201). Mismatches between institutionally preferred and imposed metaphors and an individual’s own self-images can therefore create tensions in the workplace.

Metaphor then, like other highly visual and referential forms of mental representation, offered me a promising opportunity to access the teacher educators’ conceptions of the ‘personal’ in their professional identities, the professional personae or ‘kinds of teacher educator’ they saw themselves as being, and the affective connotations that this held for them. I therefore analysed the interview transcripts to identify not just formal metaphors but also any other images or expressions that might, through their emotive and conceptual connotations, shed light on how the educators ‘saw themselves’ and what it felt like for them to *be* a teacher educator. I should also note that I deliberately elicited metaphors of this kind on only one occasion during the interviews, so the metaphors identified and categorised in the discussion that follows are primarily drawn from what Noyes (2006) calls the “subconscious, pervasive metaphoric systems ‘naturally’ occurring in their texts” (p. 899).

Being a Teacher Educator: Identity as ‘Self-image’

The analysis of the imagistic language used in the interviews revealed a number of familiar, and perhaps some less familiar, metaphor clusters. In these, the teacher educators described their various selves, and collectively implied a number of valued ‘personae’ that they saw themselves adopting, or being, when they engaged in their work. The predominant clusters of metaphors that emerged were:

- Metaphors of life and living - teacher educating as a lived life
- Metaphors of journey and exploration - teacher educator as fellow traveller

- Metaphors of ecology, generation, and growth - teacher educator as gardener-environmentalist
- Metaphors of construction, design, and building - teacher educator as architect
- Metaphors of nurturing, nutrition, and relationships - teacher educator as carer
- Metaphors of catalysis, ignition, and combustion - teacher educator as alchemist.

In the conversations that gave rise to them, these image categories were seldom discrete, however. The clusters were permeable, overlapping, interlinked, even mixed, and individuals often drew simultaneously on images across clusters in a single conversation. This too highlighted the multifaceted, hybrid, eclectic, and even self-contradictory conceptualisations they seemed to have of their teacher educator roles and personae.

Teacher education as a ‘lived life’

The first theme identified from this analysis was that of embodiment, expressed in a cluster of metaphors of life and living. Like their school teacher colleagues, the teacher educators saw little separation between their professional and their personal selves, and indeed they celebrated, as a distinctive feature of their professional identity, that notion of personal embodiment - what Bella called “being a living, growing, breathing teacher” and Sarah described as “being the ‘lived teacher’”.

Even while they enjoyed other aspects of their other professional roles, for all of the group, teaching held a central place in their professional lives. Lewis stressed that a teacher educator needs “a place to stand”, and that this must include “a total commitment to *being* a teacher”. Implicit in this is the idea that being a teacher educator involves being true to one’s personal identity. It is about getting congruence between one’s self-image as a private human being and one’s self-image as a professional. A similar principle of embodiment emerged from the pedagogy section of the *Knowledge* chapter. While they saw themselves as being *all* of a teacher, a researcher, a scholar, and a community servant-leader, it appeared to be the teacher in them that was most at their core sense of themselves and their identities as teacher educators. While all valued their other functions or personae and saw them as essential, these seemed to be valued most as they supported or consolidated their sense of self as a teacher.

For all the group, being a teacher educator involved a deep kind of modelling in several senses. It involved modelling in the sense of being a living exemplar of the kind of teacher or embodiment of the kinds of values the teacher educators wanted their students to become or

to hold, and it involved modelling the kind of teacher - their desired 'possible selves' - that they saw themselves as being.

In Dan's case, this desired 'possible self' was expressed as "someone who knows and loves and is engaged with literature ... [and who is an] outstanding example of the kind of people you're trying to produce." In Bella's, it was being "a living, growing, breathing teacher." In Anna's, it was "teaching holistically and allowing the life wisdom to flow from other aspects of her life." And in Sarah's, it was "having a lived life and encourag[ing] teachers to have a lived life - play hard, work hard, always take it to the edge and beyond and climb out and jump off cliffs, metaphorically!"

This personal embodiment involved exposing both themselves and their students to new possibilities for seeing or thinking about ideas and to new methods, strategies, processes, and potential ways of *being* as teachers, which they hoped their student teachers would transfer to their own possible selves or ways of being teachers in classroom. Modelling in this sense was about being and living the role - not just performing it as part of a staged classroom activity.

Another related metaphor was embedded in altruistic notions of 'giving back', especially in relation to their service and teaching roles. Often associated with these giving back images was a sense of 'wholeness' and completion, echoing the notion of teacher educator and 'a lived life', where the personal and the professional are so integrated as to be inseparable and are thus part of the same ecology. There was also a sense of agency and independent motivation in the descriptions of their tasks that perhaps had more to do with the "I *want* to do this" rather than with the "I *have* to do this" - the difference between personal commitment and satisfaction in altruistic acts on behalf of others, on the one hand, and institutional obligation on the other. Giving back and making a difference were more to do with internalised personal declarations of 'this is who I am' than with workplace compliance or adherence to formal workload allocations. As Lewis and Anna put it:

I like it, as it enables me to give something back. As you get older, being able to mentor people and feel [you're] passing on something that may be of use ... I quite like that feeling, as it gives you a warm glow occasionally. (Interview, 2006)

It's service, and I like that - having that *rounded* part of my life. I guess the union [work] allows me one place where I feel that it doesn't lead to my promotion and I have a chance to give back. ... You would go nuts if you didn't

have that because that's where you get that replenishment ... [You feel] valued.
(Interview, 2005)

References to their service activity in particular as providing “sustenance” and “replenishment” signalled this activity as a symbiotic process of both giving and receiving. The image of “going nuts” suggests that, for Anna at least, this sense of giving back was a location for satisfying deep internal needs. Much of their valued activity may not have been about institutional reward, but rather provided a crucial source of personal fulfilment on some level, and suggested the emotional significance of the sense of ‘feeling alive’ that came from aspects of their work.

The ‘journey’ of constant becoming: teacher educator as fellow traveller

The shift in professional identity involved in the move from teacher to teacher educator has been described as a process of constant *becoming* (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). This complex evolution takes place over time and often with difficulty, as one comes to experience cognitive and emotional shifts and to understand the differences in roles and expectations. A variety of metaphors have been used to describe such shifts. Drawing on the work of Cole and Knowles (2000) and Clandinin and Connelly (1995), Sumsion (2002, p. 870) describes the process of becoming, being, and unbecoming an early childhood educator as “a dialectical journey during which one must continually negotiate the challenges and complexities one encounters and which takes one through diverse professional landscapes characterized by different spaces, places, people and events ... Throughout one’s journey, one both shapes and is shaped by the landscapes through which one travels.”

As a matter of self-realisation, the process of becoming a teacher educator is a complex, ongoing set of gradual shifts in perception and perspective and a growing realisation that changes have taken place in response to different contexts. Almost all the group at some stage used some form of *journey*, *growth*, or *dawning realisation* metaphor to describe this evolutionary process. On looking back, Jane, for example, realised that:

... in my first couple of years at college, I *thought* I was a teacher educator, and then I suddenly realised that I wasn’t, that I was still myself telling them about how I did stuff, and it is a long process, I think, to become a teacher educator ... I realised I was moving ahead rather than going back, but I can’t tell you exactly when it was - probably about three years into the job, probably ... you never

really end that journey. I'm still not one ... [There's] never an end point, just that constant growing. (Interview, 2004)

Bella described her "gradual dawning understanding" as a slow process of "knitting together" and "calibrating" her existing practice and practical understandings with new theoretical knowledge. For her, too, this dawning took place "maybe three years in". And nor was the journey one of simply *moving*. It was one of *moving on* to newer, bigger things: "You never do again visit the place that you've come from. You just have to move on. And so I hold hands with my English colleagues now rather than moving shoulder to shoulder with them" (Interview, 2006).

For Lewis, this "constant growing realisation" was also a "continuum" in which being a co-learner with his student teachers had been an important part of the process. He paralleled his process of becoming a teacher educator with that of his own pre-service students becoming teachers:

It's the same journey for them. I'm moving along this continuum of learning to be teachers, and I just happen to be at the old end, and they are at the young end, but our journeys are similar ... I'm asking them to go on one journey, and it's actually the same journey that I'm still going on ... moving from theory to practice; they are moving from theory to practice. I'm kind of working from practice to theory, but we are both moving to having those two things in balance so [that] we are better teachers. (Interview, 2005)

For Ali, the journey over time had been about broadening her horizons, enlarging her educational vision, and becoming increasingly critical about her pedagogical classroom practices, evident in her choice of orientation and movement images such as "stepping back", "extending", "broadening out and opening up", of taking "different paths of thinking", and of "gaining a new perspective".

I've been thinking more about why I am doing things - that's something that I've done way more of ... I step back more ... at the beginning, the pressures of having classes ready and material ready and that sort of thing ... whereas now I've got the luxury of being able to back off a little ... and just really think ... is there a better way of doing it ... and what I am actually looking at this for? (Interview, 2004)

Now I can stand back ... and look more at working with people's needs and

where they're at. (Interview, 2005)

I've grown personally in that time, and that's been the result of my experiences, and I now have a completely different conception of it from when I first came in ... I've begun to move out ... I see a wider picture ... personally, it's been absolutely brilliant for me because it's opened so many different paths of thinking and it's been challenging and it's been immensely rewarding. New ideas, new worlds. (Interview, 2006)

Most of the journey metaphors in the interviews referred to their teaching activity, but others were used to describe research and doctoral work. Sarah, for example, highlighted the personal and individual nature of the research process and its connections to her *inner* motivation, *inner* compulsion, and sense of professional *self*-fulfilment:

I explored a whole area I'm interested in, but I don't know what happens to other people when they do a doctorate, but it was more for me ... more something I needed to do, and [all the] while, I was learning and exploring the areas I wanted to explore and increasing my understanding. The actual process of doing a doctorate was very much a personal process, my personal journey, my portfolio and fantastic, and I really enjoyed it. (Interview, 2006)

Others tended to describe their research 'journey' more in terms of providing the chance to look at the landscapes of teaching and teacher education from a broader perspective, and to see their practice from "the high ground". Lewis, in particular, spoke in orientation and positioning terms of overcoming his anxieties about the 'feared possible self' (Markus & Nurius, 1986) of researcher/theorist, as he described reframing his earlier anti-intellectual stance, constructed by years of conceptualising his professional identity as a "doer rather than a thinker".

I was one of those people who probably operated on the level of being slightly dismissive of educational theory and academia - probably because I felt a bit insecure about the whole thing, and in that sense I was a typical secondary teacher of my generation, of course, with a deep suspicion of ivory tower stuff. But having said that, I would certainly recently concede just how valuable it is to position your own practice within a theoretical framework as well. (Interview, 2006)

Thus, nearly all of the group emphasised their ‘journey’ from practice/praxis to explicit theory *and back again* as a crucial part of becoming the kind of teacher educator they now saw themselves to be. With their own pre-service training so far behind them as to be all but forgotten, the theory they had learned then had long been assimilated, transformed, and grafted into their experiential knowledge, such that their actions and knowledge had become intuitive. The theory they valued now was that which they had acquired on the job as teacher educators or as the result of recent postgraduate study in the academy, and they valued it precisely *because* it turned them back towards practice and had relevance for that practice.

As I noted earlier in this thesis, unlike their counterparts in other jurisdictions who had come to teacher education through the academic pathway of theory-rich doctoral study, these teacher educators had come to teacher education through the practitioner-based pathway. In that sense their journey was one of moving ‘from practice to theory’ and then ‘back to practice’ again. For each, the progression had thus been one of more explicitly theorising experienced practices and praxis rather than simply putting theory into practice. It had been one of moving from phronesis to episteme (Korthagen, 1999) *and back*, and not the other way around. Bella’s explanation of this cyclical movement in her career resonates with the accounts that the others gave of their journeys:

I *was* working from a basis of practice [which I] now understood in the light of theory, rather than theory which I then got out and applied to see if it worked or not. I sort of knew what worked for my students at the time ... [but I am now] able to put a name on them, and seeing - seeing what other people thought about them. (Interview, 2005)

They drew on metaphors of the journey and allied images not only to symbolise their *own* professional narratives but also used to describe the nature of the learning journey on which they took their *students*. When speaking of their work with students, they used such metaphors as ‘tour guide’ and mentor, of ‘map-provider’ and ‘fellow traveller’, of ‘provisioner’, ‘equipment provider’, ‘explorer’, and they often mingled these images with more adventure-tourism metaphors such as ‘abseiling’, ‘diving’, and ‘jumping off cliffs’.

Ali’s eclectic metaphor choices over a series of interviews offer an excellent case of this complex and hybrid richness of journey and travel imagery. She spoke of her role as the experienced guide who not only pointed out possibilities to her student teachers but also gave them agency in decision-making: “It’s got to be a journey of discovery for them. My role is not to say, ‘Here is what to do.’ My role is to say, ‘Look, here’s some possibilities and let’s

try this way or let's have a look at this'" . Her image of 'map-provider', for example, signalled her recognition that, as the more experienced traveller, she brought the necessary overview and sense of direction that her students needed, especially at the beginning of the year, so that they and she could navigate the journey together.

Sometimes you have to be the map-reader or map provider, because they might go off on a tangent. And there's nothing wrong with a tangent, but sometimes you've got to be someone who pulls them back and reminds them. (Interview, 2004)

'Provisioning' or 'equipping' student teachers was also important for Ali. Referring to herself as "a hunter-gatherer of ideas, of resources, of ways of thinking, and all the time thinking about where I wanted to go," she was the purposeful scavenger of the expedition - "the magpie, to pick and do things. Not just picking bits, but somehow being able to grade things so that it becomes something you can use [with students]"

A different extended analogy of a pot of eels travelling together up a turbulent stream elaborated a similar sense of providing purposefulness for students, where the teaching and learning process held connotations of restlessness, agitation, possible confusion, commotion - of being churned up and needing to be rechanneled into a common direction. Throughout her interviews, she drew on images that highlighted these elements of ongoing and intermittent challenge, risk-taking and adventurousness, as well as on ones that depicted the energy and constant forward momentum involved. While acknowledging that her students came to their study with varying life and work experiences, she characterised her student teachers as being the 'sprats' and 'eelings' in a bucket that gets tipped into the bubbling, turbulent stream that is their teacher education course.

They're not eelings in the sense that they are children. They are bigger, because some of them have been swimming in other streams for quite a long time. ... [But] we have to swim together, okay. So I've actually done this before, so I've got a little bit more knowledge than them. But I can't get up there on my own. ... I go, and we swim and swim, and they help me, and I help them. And we have to move on. There's always this sense that we must keep going. I don't want to be the person sitting at the side ... I like the sense that I'm in there too; it's not that I'm standing on the riverbank saying, 'Go this way.' I'm in swimming ... It's not a smooth-flowing river; it's not easy being a teacher. We believe that the skills and the techniques of getting around and being aware of

the challenges, such as people who can't write expository essays, or students who don't want to read, we have to be aware of that. But it's not all fight, fight, fight, because, as I say, there's some lovely relaxing pools of willows at the side that we can go and enjoy, and sometimes we jump down the river and that's fun. But I'm in there swimming with them ... I don't want to be the person sitting at the side, not the person cracking the whip at the back. (Interview, 2004)

This extended analogy clearly illustrates Ali's view that learning to be a teacher educator, is a shared and collaborative journey of co-exploration, of overcoming obstacles, of mutual 'rescues' and the pleasures and challenges of mutual investigations of the landscape and ecosystem of teaching and learning. For Ali, then, the journey was one founded on an inter-dependent, co-participatory, and collaborative relationship, holistic in nature. It was also one where stops and obstacles along the way could be thrown up because of the diverse cultural and contextual experiences and needs of the students with whom she was working. From this participation, new knowledges - indeed, new professional identities - emerged for all of them.

Design, construction, and building metaphors: teacher educator as architect

A third cluster of metaphors that appeared to represent some of the group's possible selves centred on design, construction, and building. These metaphors operated on several levels. Ali, for example, described, on one level, her own learning to be a teacher educator in terms of "working from scratch" and of consciously "building on foundations" and "building structures" for herself from which and within which she continued to build her knowledge and resources and to incorporate new understandings. She described, in respect of a second level, helping her students by assembling her own "toolbox" of experience, knowledge, and skills in order to help *them*, apprentice-like, to "begin to work and build their own sets of skills, sets of ideas about what they want to do and where they want to go." Her foundation image suggests that she was most concerned with her role as architect - with helping her students see how the various parts of the structure link into a framework, and with building a theoretical underpinning that made explicit for them why and how things fit together. Through these connotations, she made explicit her constructivist pedagogy. She described her deliberate acts of teaching as offering offered her students opportunities to plan, construct, and adapt their own understandings of how these frameworks work and fit together, and hence to plan, design, and make informed and independent choices in their own lessons.

Bella mixed an architectural/building metaphor with another more generative image when she observed, “Other times you are laying the ground work for the next leap of understanding and the next burst of energy”. Her suggestion here is that the learning process is both a case of conscious ‘designing’ and ‘scaffolding’ on the part of the teacher educator in order to facilitate ‘aha’ moments of intuitive and energising understanding for students. The one seemed to be a necessary precursor to the other.

In these and numerous other examples, the teacher educators made clear that increasing the personal agency of their pre-service students is the implicit objective of the role of teacher educator as architect or builder. In saying that “It’s an empowering thing and it’s a letting go process ... building capacity in people,” Lewis, for example, drew on the notion of ‘scaffolding’ in a Brunerian sense, where, through a careful process of increasing withdrawal of support and guidance, students build enough personal agency and autonomy to the point where they no longer need the mentoring and guiding previously provided. Lewis saw his task as helping create autonomous teachers:

A highly skilled teacher educator is a person who can build and support the skills and attitudes and attributes for the students going in, to the point where they are empowered to go out and do it for themselves. (Interview, 2005)

Lewis also drew on a number of building and construction metaphors to describe how becoming a more active consumer of research had provided him with a rationale for, and strengthened, his practice. He described this in different places as “provid[ing] the framework”, as a “nice foundation for what I’ve already done”, and as “framing up of things I thought I knew and things I did know”.

They also sometimes used structure metaphors to express a sense of constriction or constraint, particularly when they wanted to describe the perceived negative effects of ‘pre-packaging’ courses into chunks and modules. Sarah’s frustration at the negative impact this practice had had on her practice was highlighted by her use of container and building-block metaphors, identified by Lakoff and Johnson (1980b) as root metaphors. She spoke uncomfortably of “artificial and out of context” courses that involved delivering or transmitting de-contextualised or “almost formulaic” material that did not give her “the same zap” as the more process-oriented, student-centred, and creative pedagogies she espoused. The negative emotional impact of such practices on her preferred construction of how to *be* a teacher educator was evident.

The way it's packaged up now doesn't give you the same. You kind of blink and you miss it. That's the problem. It doesn't sit comfortably. It isn't how it should be. It's not a good model ... All our modules are blocks, so I teach my English people for English. It's all in a block. It's like, here it comes, ready-made. It's not like it's integrated, and I'm always apologetic when I have them, because [it's not] me being me - like I really am or want to be. (Interview, 2006)

Some of the construction metaphors were more about construction materials or tools than about structures and buildings. These included references to “gap fillers”, “tools”, “filters”, and “conduits”. The notion of teacher educator as conduit for theoretical knowledge draws on discourses of transmission and delivery strongly associated with lecturing modes of teaching (Clandinin, 1995). While it *may* be a familiar story for many who teach in a university context, and while transactional transmissive verbs such as ‘offer’, ‘impart’, ‘convey’, ‘deliver’ and the frequent repetition of ‘give’ were apparent in the language of this group, the metaphor itself was not one that sat well with them, or indeed sits well with many other teacher educators internationally (Kosnik & Beck, 2000; Russell, 1999). While acknowledging that such exists, their roles as conduits and transmitters appeared most often associated with feelings of incompleteness, reluctance, and frustration. If construction metaphors of the teacher educator as foundation builder and architect evoke something of a ‘desired possible self’, other construction metaphors of conduit, transmitter, and gap filler evoke something more of a ‘feared possible self’ (Markus & Nurius, 1986).

They [teacher educators] have to do so much of filling the gaps themselves now ... mostly I feel like it's quite unfulfilling because of the logistical thing. I come home and say I don't feel like I've given them enough... I mean, sure I'm giving them knowledge, and I'm giving them strategies, and I'm giving them skills, and I hope I'm offering good teaching. But at the end of the day what I'm trying to do is to build the belief that *they* can do it. (Interview, 2006)

For the group, then, the teacher educator-self, was much more than being a conduit for content and skills. They portrayed teacher educators as needing to be contextually responsive to individuals and the group and act more like shapers or filters than like pipes. “We don't just deliver, we respond to them, and where they are at the time, shaping the way we respond and talk with them and what we do with them. We don't just deliver” and:

I really like it when the students come back from their teaching experience in schools and say, “Oh, I did this and this and this that you told us about, and it worked really well. It was fantastic; the kids loved it.” You know, that sort of thing. When that happens, you feel really good that some of your ideas do actually work. It’s not just theory, and it’s in the hands of the person who can make it work. Because that’s always the crunch. So it’s kind of filtering out there, and we hope the associates [practicum mentors] pick up these things and try them out as well. So you hope there’s a kind of filtering effect. (Jane, Interview, 2004)

Ecology and organic growth metaphors: teacher educator as gardener/environmentalist

A theory of social practice emphasises the relational inter-dependency of agent and world, activity, meaning, cognition, learning and knowing. It emphasises the inherently socially negotiated character of meaning and the interested, concerned character of thought and action of persons-in-activity. (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 50–51)

In the cluster that I am calling ecological metaphors occurred a raft of images ranging from organic metaphors of seeds and planting and growth, redolent of the notion of teacher educator as gardener, through to more ecological or environmentally aware metaphors that evoke the complex dynamic relationships among teachers and learners and their physical, cultural, and social environments and that are redolent of the notion of teacher educator as environmentalist or ecologist.

When describing the way in which they worked with their student teachers, nearly all of them drew on the almost clichéd and invisible metaphor of ‘growth’. Sarah’s assertion that “people need to grow into being teachers” was one that Ali, Jane, and Bella also articulated at different times. They referred to the pre-service year as a “rich and fertile context in learning” and “a fertile environment” where students and tutors “muck in” together within their various communities. This, they said, happened both on the teaching practicum and within the college classroom.

I think the chief enjoyment would be just watching all the students grow, and see their enthusiasm when they come back from teaching practice or something, and they talk about something that really worked and now they can see things in

different ways, but those sorts of enthusiasms that they develop even when they are working in class. (Bella, Interview, 2004)

I just really value and feel rewarded by watching the growth of students and seeing their development ... it's fantastic. (Ali, Interview, 2006)

Anna used the associated image of planting seeds to symbolise the potential for ongoing learning in her students.

I guess I'm planting seeds that they might pick up sometime much later. One of the things I talk about explicitly in my teaching is that I'm not teaching them just for the first year of their teaching but I'm teaching them to encourage them to pick up things they might want to build on later. (Interview, 2006)

Here, the implication is the unpredictable nature of the planting process. In another interview, Anna described a feared possible self of teacher colleagues who had "shrivelled" and lost interest. She also used the analogies of "seeds" and "shells" as prior understanding that may actually need to be broken open in order for any new learning to happen: "It is not kind of an easy seed that just grows; you actually have to crack it open". Professional growth for her involved challenge, discomfort, dissonance. It might be painful, but it requires effort and perseverance.

Organic or ecological images of a different nature were also evident in a series of networking metaphors, connoting the teacher educators' widespread influence among and connection with teaching colleagues and, less directly, on pupils in schools. Ali and Lewis, for example, took pride in the opportunity afforded them to actually "touch kids in schools in a much wider, more global way through working with English teachers". Jane spoke of the way her students recognised the influence she had within the teacher community through texts she had written. All of them at some point described their extended influence through their networks of ex-students. Dan's use of an octopus simile, where "you've got tentacles all over the place" was particularly apt in this respect. He claimed: "... there wouldn't be a school in this region ... that I could go into now where there isn't somebody there that I haven't worked with". He argued that this kind of community influence was something that he couldn't have as a classroom teacher, only as a teacher educator.

Bella highlighted the dynamic, interactive nature of her teacher education experience. For her, as for others, the experience was not a matter of transference. The learning or new knowledge that emerged was part of an ecological transaction or exchange among all

concerned, as ‘legitimate peripheral participants’ in a community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991) or in the ‘third space’, the boundary between communities of practice (Stein & Coburn, 2005) where teacher educators are both brokers and boundary crossers.

While Bella’s use of a theatrical metaphor where the experience happens at the nexus, or what she called the “space somewhere in between” audience and actors, had elements of a transfer, it also accentuated the fact that something new is created as a result of collaborative interactions between teacher-educator and teacher-learner. Such interactions involve challenge, energy, and momentum, but it was the very abrasiveness, inherent danger, unpredictability, collision, and perturbation that she deemed to be the most powerful catalyst.

It’s a bit hard to know exactly how you get there. It’s a sort of a cut and thrust, it’s a give and take, it’s about a shared experience, it’s about something that happens between you ... it’s like theatre, really, the play happens between the audience and the stage. It doesn’t happen on stage and it doesn’t happen in the audience; it happens in that space somewhere between. That’s where the exciting things happen because it’s the meeting of minds, and if you have the meeting of a dozen minds, or everyone on board, then those are the best moments, when something that is being discussed can go anywhere, and it generates its own momentum, and that’s when you need to be a bit flexible. (Interview, 2007)

Bella thus saw teacher education as an inherently complex, creative, and generative act, potentially charged with positive emotions on both sides. While her use of a container image of ‘emptying out’ implies a transmissive element, its corollary, ‘filling up’, reveals a symbiotic, interconnected “organismic relationality” (Davis & Sumara, 1997, p. 110) view of the act: “... when you have that bubble of enthusiasm that you are filling up, not just emptying out, that’s important. That’s how I know that I’m teaching well” (Interview, 2004).

The ethicality of being: teacher educator as carer

Come to the edge.

We might fall.

Come to the edge.

It’s too high!

COME TO THE EDGE!

And they came,

and he pushed,
and they flew.

(Christopher Logue, Come to the Edge, 1969)

Some researchers have long argued that, like school teaching, teacher education is a moral, value-laden, ethical activity and a relational pedagogy, which has at its heart respectful and empathetic relationships with pre-service teachers. (Acker, 1992; Cole & Knowles, 1998; Collinson, 1999; Fenstermacher, 1994; LaBoskey, 2004a; Kitchen, 2005; Korthagen & Verkuyl, 2002; Noddings, 1992). These views were also apparent among the teacher educators in the study. A further distinctive cluster of metaphors revolved around the notion of ‘nurturing’ and, more generally, as a key part of their professional self-image, what Noddings (1992) calls an “ethic of care”. (I discussed this aspect to an extent when considering the group’s teacher educator professional expertise in the previous chapter.) This metaphor cluster included images of nurturing and caring, a disposition of willingness, and having a pastoral carer role. It also included images of hanging tough and images of challenge and risk-taking - of taking themselves and their students to the edge. There were images, too, of leaving a legacy, domesticity, and maintaining the faith.

In her self-description, Anna highlighted qualities of caring, “heart”, and emotions. She also emphasised dedication and a sense of moral responsibility beyond oneself:

There are some wonderful people who are teacher educators, and the reason it’s a wonderful group of people is because it’s their profession, it’s drawn people of that kind of heart and that kind of passion and zeal, you know, who do want to make a difference, who do care. They’re not just interested in a groove, and that’s why they’ve become teacher educators, and that’s why they’re good at it, you know. (Interview, 2008)

High-quality interpersonal and intrapersonal skills and relationships lie at the heart of the metaphor of an ‘ethic of care’, and the images that associated ‘nurturing’ with the work of teacher education lie along a continuum from pastoral dependence and security provision through to fostering independence, challenge, and risk. Highlighted at one end was the importance of being a support for students in an often ‘maternal’ or ‘parental’ way. One of the teacher educators, Sarah, referred affectionately and maternally to pre-service students on practicum as “my babies”. Another, Ali, commented:

I’m getting lots and lots of emails from them ... just little things that are

happening in the first few days ... some of them still have that umbilical cord back, and you have to keep pumping the blood through it. (Interview, 2006)

The tone of such comments illustrates a close, almost familial, intimacy of relationship with her students. It was not enough simply to teach students: the bond was closer than that. The relationships they had with their students *mattered* to them, personally and professionally, as did their students' well-being, growth, and needs.

However, they also described this aspect of their role as exhausting and draining. Such work, they said, is often hidden, and such interactions can tip over into becoming burdensome "emotional labour" (Hochschild, 1983): "Pastoral stuff again. There's a lot of pastoral. Emails. I always reply ... they wouldn't email if they didn't need help ... so that's it ... I find it's really intense. and it's tiring"

Coming at this from a different angle, drama educator Anna spoke of finding herself cast in the role of reluctant counsellor as students' issues impacted on class dynamics and her sense of getting the job done.

At some point, it's not just about teaching them, but it is about playing counsellor where you are not only a teacher, but a major pastoral support figure. It is not like you go into tertiary and you just teach. Our students, as you know, not just this lot, have as many issues as high schools do, that you can ignore in the [other parts of the] university, as they are just lost in a lecture theatre. If they need any help there, they will go to a counsellor. But because we have small groups, and they tend to be interactive, and even though we don't want to play counsellor, because I'm teaching theatre-type things, group interaction is massive; it is not an easy job. (Interview, 2006)

Lewis's complex view of what it means to be nurturing presented another interesting case. "Nurturing the soul" is how Lewis described his two-fold view of this role. "How do you maintain the idealism, the passion? Well it's pretty darn difficult. But part of it is that you nurture your own soul, and you keep on reading, and keep on doing things, and keep on being an active citizen of the world". As well as self-care, a strong moral-ethical purpose was a crucial aspect of the teacher educator role for Lewis. On one occasion, he described this as like keeping "your eye on the kids in school", and as "terrible ethical dilemmas. Unless you consistently go back to what is good for the kids in the classroom when you are making decisions, then you are lost". He described this "keeping the end in mind" as his moral "touchstone" for professional decision-making:

All of those complexities can make it very difficult to make a decision, so where do you go? Once again, for your touchstone. You have to go back to those kids that you can see in your own head as a basis for making the decision. So it is still about kids in the classroom. (Interview, 2006)

Lewis also described this moral purpose in terms of the need to have a strong “belief that teaching is a worthwhile thing to do, that it is important, and that after being a doctor there is no other job more important than teaching. So you have really got to have that, otherwise that can be tested”. This strong ‘service’ orientation mingled with his sense that he would leave a ‘legacy’ - something worthwhile - behind.

I feel that part of my identity as a teacher is some service, a service to others, and that, you know, you’re not in this to be popular, you’re not paid to be popular, and you are certainly not going to expect thanks. You would like some positive feedback, but in some situations it’s enough to be asking what you can do to make a contribution and ... it’s nice to be able to give back to the younger teachers. (Interview, 2005)

On a different level, as a male teacher educator Lewis was “uneasy about the nurturing thing”. He highlighted the limiting nature, as he saw it, of normalising caring as a gendered activity, or as part of a gendered discourse where “it’s seen as natural that [only] women will be nurturing”. He acknowledged that, as males were relatively rare in the profession and particularly in his curriculum area, he himself had been “well cared-for by women ... [in a] female dominated environment”. But he also saw his role requiring him to make his students feel they were cared for, and about, although not in an over-protective way. For Lewis, “hanging tough” and being challenging when needed was as crucial to caring and to developing self-efficacious teachers as was being “relentlessly positive”.

I see nurturing sometimes as being sometimes having to hang very tough, and although it’s not my preferred way of operating, sometimes I use the word ‘confront’, and I tell my students sometimes that they have to *confront* the situation and *confront* a student, and I do believe that part that *not* confronting can be more stressful than actually confronting it. But there are ways of confronting, and so I do believe in being very assertive. (Interview, 2005)

The reality of the classroom, he said, can be “scratchy on the sandpaper”, and so what is needed is “tough love ... [where] sometimes student teachers to survive have to just ‘guts it out’”.

Sarah described her view of nurturing as “a culture of care ... [and the] ‘X’ factor in teacher education ... which has to be modelled and has to be deeply felt, and it has to be sincere.” For her, pastoral care was about

providing ongoing opportunities and making sure you’re actually ahead of your students in terms of the moment and the opportunities that you’re providing for them to grow. That, to me, is about caring. So you’re caring about their professional growth and their personal growth, caring about them as people and as spiritual beings as well. And that doesn’t mean picking up the pieces. (Interview, 2006)

Like Lewis, Sarah’s conception of care was not simply one of “propping up”, “picking up pieces”, being “warm and fuzzy” or indulgent. Caring meant supporting all aspects of students’ growth, including challenging them towards independence through dealing with discomfort and uncertainty and taking the risk of letting go. She drew on poet Christopher Logue’s metaphor of fledglings taking flight to explain her thinking:

Apollinaire’s idea of taking them to the edge and making them fly. It’s caring about building someone towards their potential and beyond. There are times when I’m quite frustrated with students who can’t get their shit together ... I’m into growing strong people, and I’m into challenging people towards growth and being able to be pushed over the edge and learning to fly, and I think *that* is really caring for someone. (Interview, 2006)

Another aspect of ethical commitment as part of their valued selves was evident in a range of gendered domestic labour metaphors, often incorporating the invisible things that women, in particular, do to help things run smoothly. Jane described herself doing a lot of the micro work of the community. She described herself as “attending”, “being available”, “helping out”, “manning”, “filling in”, “taking part”. Such a role, she said, was “making sure the dishwasher is full and washed and unpacked and the kitchen is tidy ... [and] tidying up resource rooms” - acts that had little overt extrinsic worth but were part of maintaining the sense of harmony and functioning at a micro communal level. She described this level of work as hidden, unseen labour, involving “all the things that aren’t in anyone’s job descriptions” but needed doing to keep the community running smoothly. It was about having

a “disposition of willingness”, supporting others in the community by “being the staff rep on things when you are asked to ... [and] having conversations with colleagues who say, ‘I have to go to the dentist tomorrow, I’ll take your class’.”

Moreover, for her the impetus to take on such roles seemed largely internally motivated, the outcome of both an individually constructed conception of her role and possibly her gender: “I just think that if you are professional and if you are passionate about your job, you get involved in all those things because that’s the sort of person you are”. The impetus also seemed to relate to her conception of how she thought others saw the role: “I think there should be an expectation that you do that. I think our students expect it.” Being a teacher educator for Jane was also about the phatic intangible glue of “collegiality” and contributing in unseen ways to creating a “culture of care and collegiality”.

Ambivalences, Ambiguities and Tensions

When I first came here I thought, “Oh, it’s calm,” but of course it’s not calm, and I am constantly juggling everything, but juggling different balls. (Ali, Interview 2005)

That ambiguities, contradictions, and complexities are an inherent and inevitable aspect of teacher educators’ work is especially well documented in the self-study literature (see, for example, Dinkelman, Margolis, & Sikkenga, 2006; Grimmett, 1997; Loughran, 2006; Loughran & Russell, 1997; Russell, 1998; Tidwell, 2002; Whitehead, 1998; Wilkes, 1998). Not only do teacher educators work in “a pedagogical quagmire” (Hargreaves, 1998, p. 846), where growing reformist skirmishes at the institutional and/or policy level are mounting into full-blown assaults on deeply held core pedagogical values and beliefs about what constitutes quality teaching and learning, but they also often experience the emotional dissonance of recognising themselves as “living contradictions” (Whitehead, 1993) where their ‘theories-in-use’ are consciously or unconsciously at odds with their ‘espoused theories’ (Argyris & Schön, 1974; Robinson & Lai, 2006). Macgillivray (1997), for example, describes how examining her own professional assumptions and biases highlighted the contradictions in her own views, and the discrepancies between her espoused and enacted practices as a literacy educator working from a critical stance. Teacher educators’ efforts to practise what they preach, to more closely align their practice to their purpose, and to achieve greater congruence between their espoused and enacted pedagogies are attempts to reconcile

apparently contradictory aspects of their professional identity. They are attempts to align their 'I' (how they see themselves and what they value in themselves) with their 'me' (what they perceive others see and value in them). For them, much of the emotionality of being a teacher educator derives from their respective senses of success or failure in making such reconciliations.

Drawing on her own self-study work, Berry (2004) frames some of the tensions that influence teacher educators' learning about their own practice as existing in the spaces between a number of specific binaries: between telling and growth, between confidence and uncertainty, between working with and against, between discomfort and challenge, between planning/structure and responsiveness/flexibility, and so on.

Tensions similar to those raised by Berry occurred throughout the discourse of the group, and especially through the last major sets of metaphors to emerge from the interviews: these included metaphors of circus-style performance, especially metaphors of juggling and balance-imbalance, metaphors of drug-like stimuli, of 'highs' and 'lows', and metaphors of adventure and risk. At the centre of all of these was the idea of 'struggling to balance' professional and personal extremes, and of the risks and dissonances involved in trying to create equilibrium out of disequilibrium.

The group constantly talked not only of juggling to balance the different practical and functional aspects of their lives (workloads, timetables, and so on) but also of struggling to balance a number of less easily resolvable tensions and competing demands in relation to their pedagogical purposes and values. The most prominent of these tensions were:

- Balancing the urge or pressure to tell and transmit with the wish to support students' own journeys of self-discovery;
- Reconciling time pressure, limited course coverage, and content superficiality with a pedagogy that valued taking time, covering more, and going more in-depth;
- Juggling the balance between teaching courses and teaching students; and
- Trying to resolve the discrepancy between their roles as internally focused teachers and researchers on the one hand and as externally-focused professional community leaders on the other.

For everyone in the group, the pedagogical relationship with students was a profound - and usually the greatest - source of personal and professional satisfaction and pleasure, regardless of the nature and culture of the institution within which they worked, and regardless of the specific other teacher educator roles they had taken on in their careers.

Moreover, the rewards they experienced from their teaching were most often expressed as emotional ones. Their pleasure in the teaching role, in particular, was apparent in words like “thrill”, “high” and “buzz”, evoking ideas of adrenaline and elation or the addictive highs of a drug. The repetition of the word “magic” to describe great teaching moments in the classroom carried connotations of spellbinding and enchantment, along with a sense that the dazzling and pleasurable effects, while unexpected, could also, perhaps, be conjured up by someone with the appropriate skills.

Anna described the euphoria that came from her interactions with students in just such terms:

I love teaching. When I have a good class, I am so high. It might not have been a brilliant class, but things come together, and I come away feeling so high, going, “Yeah, yeah!” I enjoy those great moments with students - they are a biggie. I don’t think there is any teacher educator or teacher around who doesn’t get a huge buzz ... It’s magic, and it changes each time. It’s magic. (Interview, 2006)

And ...

It’s a thrill when you work with students, and when you watch them grow, and it is a thrill. You feel their energy, and that’s what makes you stay really. That’s the quickest buzz, the easiest buzz. (Interview, 2005)

For Sarah, the teaching component of her job was a release from the “confinement” and “constriction” of being in an office. She described the time in between classes as “down time”. Class teaching was a source of “excitement”, of “coming alive”. This animation or transformation metaphor indicated how deeply embedded within her professional identity and sense of self-worth was the act of teaching.

I come alive as soon as I get a group of English students and start talking about English. Something magic happens. I do feel you don’t realise that. You don’t have that part of you operating until you’re back doing it again. You think, “Oh yes, that’s right! That’s who I am!” I do experience that. (Interview, 2006)

“Daring to go into freefall a little bit” was a metaphor Anna used across her interviews to explain her work with her students. In this, Anna described the challenges she faced in “how [to] get people to dive around in it, and swim around in it, and have some fun in it.” She talked of teaching as involving “a letting go” and “surrendering”, of encompassing adventure and risk, “provocation and play”. Anna talked of her research work with a similar

sense of adventure and risk:

[It was] like being given a skateboard and told here's a beach ... That's kind of exciting! There's a wind there you can catch ... I don't do research just to be a goody two shoes and [to] give to the universe. I do it because there's a kite, you know, and because there's something new to learn and somewhere else to fly and [because] it's quite fun ... [It is] fire and adventure and discovery. (Interview, 2006)

These intentional risk-taking and forward momentum aspects of research and teaching were also implicit in Bella's comments, even if they were tinged with some reservations about what might be "left behind" should this constant movement become too aimless or unstructured:

It's deliberately pushing yourself out of your comfort zone to embrace something different and to take a risk. And it leads you into not being too judgemental too because you are faced all the time with realising the multiplicity of possibilities that there are and, after all, any one of us at any one time can only take one possibility, and the magnificent thing is that one possibility then spawns a whole set of other possibilities. But we've left behind another set of whole possibilities that you are never going to go down. (Interview, 2004)

In Lewis's view, the mere *fact* of being a teacher educator necessarily involved risk-taking: "I have lived right on the edge of my comfort zone or outside it." Anna described this calculated risk-taking as "bungy jumping" and "abseiling".

I have abseiled. It is one thing to *watch* people abseiling. It is one thing to put the belt on. But another to step over the cliff and loosen out the rope. It's not that hard once you step over the cliff, but you've got to do it. You may have a few accidents with it to realise the safety rope works. I guess I got more confident at abseiling when there was a jag in the cliff top and the rope wouldn't go and your body slips, and even if the safety rope wasn't there, then I controlled it ... and just jam it ... and realising I wasn't going to die was strange. And I think that is what our kids need to do. (Interview, 2005)

The pedagogies espoused here are active, experiential, and involve efficacy building. But they are also pedagogies that imply the authority of personal experience on the part of the

teacher educators. Being a teacher educator clearly involved an embedded modelling of these attributes and dispositions. But it also involved the provision of sufficient experiences to allow both for experimentation and for the cognitive dissonance and emotional discomfort that accompany such personal change or development.

Being a catalyst for change in the wider community generated a similar set of comfort–discomfort metaphors for the group, reflecting perhaps what Zeichner (1993) calls a “social reconstructionist” tradition of practice (1993) and Feiman-Nemser (1987, 1990) calls the “critical-social orientation” in teachers’ (and teacher educators’) educative roles. Many of the teacher educators had been intensively involved in curriculum development at national level, where they felt they had a role to ensure that their own and their students’ marginalised voices were heard, and to fight, where possible, what they saw as against reductionist policies. Bella’s metaphor of being at the “spearhead or “the sharp edge” as an advocate for change at the national level connoted her belief in the importance of both her own strategic positioning and leadership at the intersection of institutions/communities, as well as within her institution. It also indicated her desire to “establish attitudes” whereby students were prepared to critique the politics of the professional world they were entering. Her growing “understanding of how political education is” had been an “illumination” on becoming a teacher educator. She described her dual role as both a critical and a “curious” observer of current politics, as being able to see the “long growth” or bigger picture historically. She also described herself as an “active change agent” working at the “cutting edge” in curriculum and assessment development.

Anna’s view of her role as a change agent with a strong social justice agenda was paradoxically more subversive and more overt, as well as more self-problematised. As she described it, her very attempts to *influence* her students towards a socially emancipatory vision were, in fact, at odds with the social reconstructionist (Zeichner, 1993) agenda she also espoused.

[If] I start failing my students because they don’t change in their critical thinking in the way I want them to, then I’m not doing what I was talking about. It’s best to be a sideswipe rather than a frontal attack. (Interview, 2006)

Lewis, too, using metaphors of abrasion and subversion, recognised the political contradictions of the job. While it took courage for him to work as an activist, he considered it important to challenge taken-for-granted assumptions in his students.

Sometimes that is not comfortable, but going into secondary profession where it is, once again that word, it is an *abrasive* environment, it is a *challenging* environment, [then] I don't think we are doing our students any favours by giving them the party line and not dealing with challenges. Because it is all about teaching as a subversive activity. (Interview, 2003)

Being a catalyst for change in others was thus a complex, often paradoxical role, for them and a role that generated ambivalent emotional responses. Sarah's series of mixed metaphors perhaps sum up well the multifaceted, hybrid conceptualisations of the role and the ambivalent emotional responses of most of them: "I mean, all I'm doing is igniting and equipping and opening doors and showing them a way".

Telling versus experiencing

Loughran (2006) and others argue that student teachers enter teacher education expecting to be told how to teach, and there is considerable pressure on teacher educators to teach simply by sharing their own teaching experiences, anecdotes, resources, and bags of tricks with their students. On the other side, schools have an expectation that when student teachers arrive on practicum placements, they come armed with a great deal of technical-rational knowledge of what to do in the classroom. These expectations present teacher educators with the dilemma of how to balance the seemingly faster 'teaching as telling' with providing opportunities for students to learn about teaching for themselves over time. The importance of the metaphors of exploration, adventure, and the journey in evoking this particular balancing act in the job has already been discussed. Suffice to say here that the teacher educators felt they had to simultaneously engender confidence and independence in students by being provisioners/providers of ideas, resources, experiences, and assurances at the same time as they try to develop more independent reflective dispositions in their students by seeking out rather than circumventing the risks and rocks that scatter the landscape of that journey.

Lewis, who prided himself as someone practical, came to experience some of these dissonances in his practice - between the "transmission bit" and his pedagogical beliefs. He said he needed to "talk less in the classroom ... to try and cut down on the anecdotes ... [as he] felt it was starting to turn into too much of a LT show". He talked of realising that while it was comforting to him and reassuring to his students to share explicitly his authority of experience (Munby & Russell, 1994), nothing would be achieved without some serious deconstruction of the tacit assumptions and contradictions inherent in those experiences. He

described a growing awareness of his need to be more “accountable than I have in the past” and his heightened awareness that “it is not right for me just to be a self-indulgent sort of lecturer playing on humour and eccentricity and energy and dynamism and trading off what I know.” Rather, he said:

I have to make sure that I am delivering those sessions properly, modelling those things, even if I am not always comfortable with those things. It is not enough just to stand up and say, “Here’s a PowerPoint on cooperative learning. You take the notes down.” We do that. We put them into groups. The temptation for me is to skip that activity in my two-hour session and do something else, but I really want to make sure that I carry on modelling the things that we are aspiring to teach. (Interview, 2007).

While he felt his attempts were genuine, acting on these principles had not been so easy, given greatly reduced face-to-face hours and ongoing pressures relating to delivery methods. He and the rest of the group retained a sense of agency over how they structured and organised their professional tasks, but how they could better (or in some cases even continue to) model a pedagogy for and with their students remained a source of ongoing tension, ambivalence, and anxiety.

Planning versus responsiveness

The group articulated a number of other emotional tensions in relation to the difficulties they experienced in matching what they saw as imposed methods of delivery with their pedagogical expertise, values, and beliefs. Allowing time in class for in-depth thinking, for student-teacher and teacher-educator exploration and reflection, was often apposed in their discourse with the need to maintain momentum and to ensure coverage of curriculum and pedagogical content knowledge. In other words, they felt that organisational and course structures often acted to constrain rather than enable pedagogical flexibility and openness. As time available for face-to-face teaching continued to diminish in most of their institutions, they universally argued that they were now even less able to address content gaps or to take time to engage in the holistic, creative, collaborative student-centred learning activities that they believed it was their role to model and exemplify as effective practice within their curriculum area.

Despite a rhetoric of independent, inquiry-based learning, the tensions of balancing increasingly limited face-to-face course time within highly structured courses with a

commitment to interactive and constructivist pedagogies highlighted ongoing challenges that needed to be resolved in relation to *what* to teach and *how*. Sarah used a metaphor of “no opportunity to cry in your programme” to sum up the expected consequences for students of such a hurried pace and superficial coverage. “We do too much, too fast,” she said, such that she rarely had time during her classes for allowing “some pregnant pauses along the way and [to] give them some down time, and we don’t do enough of that.” She continued:

We fill up every possible spare moment in the programme, and I’m sure you do the same. You’ve got so many hours, and they’re really limited, so you just pack it in ... Well, there’s the rub. We’ve had to reduce and reduce ... we’ve ended up retaining lectures on educational theory to the sacrifice of rich group activities. We don’t do any of those things now. There’s no time. (Interview, 2006)

Another member of the group - Sarah - used the construction/decorating metaphor of the “quick paint job” to describe this superficiality in process and their sense of having to do more with less. “There is a sense of now it’s just paying lip service, like a brushstroke across everything. So they just get these quick dabs into the curriculum areas, but they don’t actually get that depth that is about a personal growth.” The tension between time pressure and (overly) structured or prescribed courses meant that:

I would like to be able to have time for them to arrive at questions when they arrive at them and not to predetermine the questions by answering them before they have [asked] them. Because we suggest it’s a journey and everyone’s going to have their own journey. [But] there’s a real tension to me. ... If we predetermine or prescribe that journey for them, we are giving them mixed messages really: “Look everyone’s going to be at different places, but we are not, because today we are all going to do classroom management.” ... Burning issues for all of us [are] how to structure the programme and how to balance the tensions between the push to do theoretical stuff and balance this with the practice stuff. (Interview, 2006)

Theory versus practice

As I noted earlier, the personal journey most of these teacher educators had taken had been one of *phronesis* to *episteme* and *back again*. While they acknowledged the relevance of educational theory, its status in relation to practice, and where and how it should be taught,

was a continual source of tension. One of them described her frustrations about the timing of the learning theory component in her programme.

If I had full control over the central core papers in our programme, I would be less inclined to present a theoretical base at the start of the programme and more inclined to explore what they already know and understand about teaching and learning and allow for some development of that. (Interview, 2006)

As she saw it, valuable opportunities to explore, through talk, beliefs, values, and prior teaching and learning experiences with students had been cut, leaving her with *only* a theory component. Such time-consuming experiential elements of courses were considered “wasting time because we really needed to get into the *real stuff*”:

So the educational psychologist came in and said, “How can they talk about teaching and learning if they don’t really understand the theoretical base of how learners learn?” My answer to that was I spent twenty years teaching in a school and didn’t actually know that theoretical framework, but I taught and kids learned despite not knowing that. So I realised we had this philosophical divide when I realised our students were not going to be allowed to come in and explore all those things initially, but they were going to have theory “poured all over them” and in them for the first week they come in, and that’s still what they’re going to get next week. They will spend from Tuesday lunchtime till Friday being told the theories of learning, without their being considered as learners. (Interview, 2006)

Tensions between praxis and theory and deeply held assumptions about which is more salient are evident in Sarah’s use of the loaded metaphor of theory “poured all over them”, an allusion to Mr Gradgrind, the philistine schoolmaster and epitome of educational oppression in Dickens’ *Hard Times* (1854).

It is important to note, however, that the teacher educators were not anti-theory per se. It was more the case that they saw theory as serving practice rather than the other way round, and that the teaching of theory should be such that it exemplified and modeled and embodies theoretical knowledge as practice, and was not taught in isolation. Bella captured the notion shared by most of the others.

They’re [students] moving from theory to practice, they are moving from theory to practice. *I’m* kind of working from practice to theory *and back*. But we are

both moving to having those two things in balance so that we are better teachers.
(Interview, 2007)

Support versus challenge

Another significant emotional tension articulated by the teacher educators related to their efforts to balance support and challenge in their relationships with students. The importance of relationships and an ethic of care (Noddings, 1992, 2001) for their students has already been discussed. Often, however, the tension between when to give support and when to withdraw that safety net involved a complex decision-making process, and was one that evoked strong emotional ambivalences for them. As one of them put it, understandings about one's own "bottom line" in relationships grow over time, but decisions about when "we can give them the benefit of the doubt and when we need to be tough" were seldom clear-cut. Self-confidence, born of experience and intuition - what Van Manen (1990) calls the tact of teaching - also played their part.

I've got better at being more rigorous too, so that - we were talking about confronting things - so now with my students, if I don't see them showing leadership and engagement in the classroom, then I'm less likely to forgive that and the more likely I am to say, "Look, it's teaching." In the past I would have encouraged them and supported them far longer than I should have. (Interview, 2007)

Lewis also spoke of the trickiness he experienced in striking a balance between objectivity and emotional involvement with students:

... between being involved with the students and getting stuck in there with them in a range of things - like outdoor education camp, the things that they do, being a part of group work, when they are in groups, participating - and keeping the objectivity about them. So having the ability to join in, but also to step back. And I really struggle with this one ... Maintaining distance is not as easy with your students who are, in the general sense, sometimes attractive people who are intelligent and stimulating, whom you can identify with as being at a certain stage of development in their life. (Interview, 2007)

In the swamp or on the bridge? Tensions relating to research

The language and imagery the teacher educators used in relation to research fell into two

categories: that of consumer-applier; and that of producer-applier. In other words, they saw as one of their roles reading current research literature to both inform their own understandings and knowledge so that relevant findings could then be applied in their teaching and work with students. They saw their second role as being personally research-active in terms of producing new knowledge that they could then apply in their own work.

In relation to the first role of consumer-applier, two key metaphors emerged - “prospecting” and “sifting the wheat from the chaff”. Seeing himself as a link between research literature and students, Dan typified the views of the group when he described his role as that of assisting students to prospect and “sift” for the “nuggets” of meaning “lost in the verbiage” of academic language and convention. Interpreting the discourse of academic articles on education was not something his students found easy, despite their having all completed under-graduate degrees in their specialist subject. Being an experienced reader of research meant that he had “the big picture” and so could “critique”, on behalf of his student, “the quality and repetitiveness of much research” in his field, sorting the wheat from the chaff, and helping “to scaffold his students’ reading of that research”.

The teacher educators’ responses to the role of producer-applier, however, were more complex - a mixture of enthusiasm, resistance, and resignation. For some of them, research evoked positive feelings of reward and professional and personal fulfilment. Being active in knowledge *production* through research was a source of great pleasure for several of them, as evoked in numerous imagistic references to do with “liberation”, “fire”, and “adventure” and “discovery”. Some of the positive growth and journey metaphors more usually associated with teaching were also evident in relation to research.

For the others, though, their role as producers of research evoked feelings of failure and anxiety, especially when it was perceived as requiring uncomfortable choices about expending their professional energies across teaching, research, and service activities. Houston, Meyer, and Paewai (2006) argue that little has changed in the academy in this regard in the last 30 years or so: “Society *hopes* that [university] teachers will not neglect their teaching responsibilities but *rewards* them almost entirely for research and publications ... Consequently, it is rational for university teachers to concentrate on research, even to the detriment of teaching and at the expense of their students” (Kerr, 1975, p. 773; emphasis in original, cited in Houston et al., 2006, p. 18).

The responses of the teacher educators in this study suggest that, in New Zealand at least, teacher educators’ responses to the same dilemma may well prove to be the opposite. Anna and Lewis put the issue from their two perspectives:

My students would be shocked if I told them that ... even if I totally neglected them, that it wouldn't make any difference. So if I want promotion in the institution, then I can't pour it into them. That is not to say I shouldn't, but it isn't going to get me promotion to pour it into them. I have to pour it into doing the research and putting in an application that talks about it. (Interview, 2006)

What I haven't got is a sense of being allowed to do my job. I don't actually even mind the late, late nights ... It's the pull between the commitments to the students ... If you can't do [all the other roles] as well as your teaching, you fail. It's not that you burn out, you actually fail. I mind that. I mind being kind of jammed into failure corners. (Interview, 2006)

In such situations, a 'survival' response, and a concern for one's personal 'health' was common. Lewis, for example, spoke of his qualification upgrade studies in terms of just such survival metaphors:

At the moment, I am focussed on getting the study done. Elementary self-preservation going on here. Now I have decided to stay in teacher education, I have to make sure I have a decent job in the new set-up. (Interview, 2006)

While Anna wanted to retain both her service work and do research, she recognised the negative repercussions that trying to maintain all her roles had had on her mental health.

Community service often goes with researching some ways. It is a capacity building that isn't acknowledged in PBRF [performance-based research funding formula] either. In my priorities, maybe the tension is between my sanity and surviving the job, and I have had two weeks when I have come home zombied ... Because I've run out of energy and that's the bottom-line. I'm more or less hitting the wall. (Interview, 2006)

Here, a range of 'life-draining' metaphors highlight the potential negative emotional impact caused by trying to maintain previous service and teaching roles to the same level. There are images of the empty fuel tank, of "hitting the wall" and of becoming a "zombie", where one is almost reduced to automaton. These images are provide a telling counterpoint to those of 'sustenance', 'completion', 'love', 'liberation', 'fire', 'adventure', 'discovery' and 'growth' that the educators also used when speaking of their role as researchers.

Metaphors of juggling and of balancing were thus used explicitly and implicitly to highlight the complexity of the multi-tasking needed to manage these quite different

competing roles and demands. While, as a metaphor, juggling connotes considerable skill, artistry, energy, and momentum to keep things going, there is the constant potential to ‘drop balls’. It can also be a source of tension, frustration, and anxiety and, even at the extremes, a sense of failure. These same sentiments were echoed by others in the group.

The biggest tension is probably multi-tasking, and you know from what I have said before, and that still holds, that I think research is good, and I quite like it, and I find it exciting. I don’t think my students should be neglected for it. I think it should be possible for an intelligent organisation to make it possible for me to do both. (Interview, 2006)

The dilemma, then, was that juggling often entailed making invidious choices. Anna used a similar metaphor - that of “straddling” - to evoke the same impression. “I love research ... I love the enquiry. I actually love a lot of my job. I love writing. [But] I don’t like doing all these things under pressure, and with one foot in each camp”. The need to accommodate the ‘researcher’ role and the consequent increases and changes in the nature of their workload meant that, for some of the group, even teaching could be seen as “burdensome” when it was pitted against other demands on their time and energy.

Several among the group talked of research as something to be “worked through” and “worked around”, as something that involved huge personal cost and was even “threatening” to their work and private lives. For several, research was often associated with expressions of conflicted feelings such as “guilt”, it was seen as “an extra add-on”, and it was done at a “personal price”. Metaphorical language such as “*go with the trends*”, “*becoming more reconciled* to the fact that there are some good things for me personally and for my practice about research” and “*gradually feel[ing] more comfortable* with the idea that maybe I’m going to be heading into academia” implies grudging shifts in position towards acceptance and capitulation, as do ironic understatements, such as “Maybe I might occasionally feel excited.” However, shifts in thinking about research over time were obvious. These comments usually replaced earlier images of resistance and rebellion, where some of the group actively “railed against”, “*fought against* the idea of research and post-graduate study” and “*held fast to*” or “*sat on* my pragmatic and practical approach to teaching”, and so on.

Ultimately, then, for beginners and experienced researchers alike, research was associated with some level of ambivalence, and most of this ambivalence had its origins in their relative sense of professional agency and control, or lack of it, in relation to their research activity. This lack of agency was manifest in two ways: first, their sense that

research would have to be done at the expense of other valued activities in their job descriptions, and second, their view that research activity was increasingly becoming associated with building a culture of political or bureaucratic compliance rather than as the expression of a culture of freedom of inquiry. It was not that they lacked the desire or the ability or the motivation to engage in research, but that they suspected they would either be doing research that would not be valued, or that they would be doing it for the wrong reasons. Even for those who deemed themselves “successful” or “enthusiastic” researchers, there was a sense that the compliance aspects of doing research under the new PBRF regime had destroyed much of its former pleasure. Under this regime, research had become associated with “resentment”, diminished agency, with competitiveness within and between institutions, and as one of them put it, with the potential “drudgery” of, “doing research for all the wrong reasons”.

When I saw the PBRF coming ... it was, like, “Look what they are doing to my song.” I love doing research. I have always loved finding things out ... But suddenly, now, from being something I feel passionate but didn’t have to feel too competitive about, it has now become institutionalised as part of the PBRF, so we are doing research for all the wrong reasons ... Research that is drudgery has no interest to me. It’s compliance research. (Interview, 2007)

Or, as another phrased it:

Research to me is really only worthwhile if it feeds back to the people that are being researched ... if it makes a difference, particularly research in education. If it doesn’t have an impact on kids and learners and improves things for them, then I don’t have a lot of respect for it ... it’s done for the sake of pleasing the system rather than making an impact on - it’s the PBRF syndrome. I think it’s probably one of the worst things that’s happened, and I say, “Have we learnt nothing from the league tables? Are we a stupid, stupid nation?” mean, we *know* league tables don’t tell us the truth, and the PBRF won’t tell us the truth either. (Interview, 2006)

Interestingly, some of these comments were made by committed and successful researchers who had completed PhDs and were research active in PBRF terms. Such ambivalences and contrasting emotionalities suggest that no matter what might be mandated and expected institutionally, unless espoused beliefs about those mandates are addressed,

then change or reform at the institutional level will be difficult, even subverted. Alcorn (1995) identified the professional risks of combining a research imperative with the demands of professional involvement in schools as one of the central challenges to teacher education resulting from the (early) college/university mergers in the New Zealand context. In a profession where an ability to work across different communities with ease, and where having broad, inevitably shallower, knowledges over many areas has been lauded and is, indeed, necessary to thrive, deep but narrow knowledge is still viewed with some suspicion. It is seen as setting oneself apart as an expert and “narrowing down” and “closing off all the openings that they need to be thinking of” as opposed to “opening up”. This presents individuals with new socially constructed challenges, none of which seems easy to resolve:

... to respect these and thrive with[in] systems and at the same time not to lose sight of your own enthusiasms, that's a tension that has to be resolved ... To find the mental energy to go on being oneself and following one's own dream, and changing dreams and picking up new dreams ... that's quite an issue for people who are not terribly secure about who they are yet ... It is hard to hang on to your own individuality and convictions and to keep those safe somewhere where you can access them and at the same time go along with the new challenges. (Interview, 2006)

Conclusion: The Enduring Ambivalence of the ‘Spaces in Between’

This chapter has evoked those aspects of the teacher educators’ professional identities that represent their ‘self-image’: how they conceptualised and experienced the various ‘roles’ or personae that they had adopted as teacher educators, and how it felt for them to ‘be’ in those roles or to present those personae. Largely through a qualitative analysis of the metaphorical expressions they used to describe their experiences as teacher educators, the chapter has identified something of what Gee (2000) would call the ‘kinds of’ teacher educators they saw themselves as being, and what Markus and Nurius (1986) would describe as their desired or feared ‘possible selves’.

Most identity theory emphasises its dynamic nature. Around a central core, and sometimes at the core, identities adapt and change over time. Identities, and especially those such as *professional* identity that are essentially social in origin and expression and that are about our place in a particular social world, are not static (Clegg, 2008; Gee, 2000; Stronach, Corbin, Starke, & Warne, 2002). Among the teacher educators in this study, this ever-

changing aspect of their professional lives was implicit in their frequent use of ‘journey’, ‘travel’, and ‘movement’ metaphors. They saw themselves in a sometimes contradictory but always evolving role, where they positioned themselves as fellow collaborators on a shared journey with their pre-service students within communities of practice, where they paid constant attention to their own sense of self-development, and where they gave expression to their apparent need to always ‘move on’, ‘keep up’, and ‘keep moving’ professionally.

A second common theme in identity theory is the multifaceted and dynamic nature of identity. Markus and Nurius (1986) refer to the various facets or images that we have of our current selves in the world as our “now selves” and they refer to our notions of our future selves as our “possible selves”, which, in turn, function to provide an evaluative and interpretive context for the “now self” (p. 962). On different occasions and in different contexts, we realise, marshal, or emphasise different aspects of our identities, or, as others would suggest, we adopt, marshal, and/or enact quite different subjectivities, positions, or selves (Gee, 2000; Zembylas, 2003a). The main selves that emerged from the discourse of the teacher educators in the study, included:

- The mentor who was on a parallel journey of development with their student teachers, as their tour guide, their map reader (*teacher educator as fellow traveller*);
- The builder-planner who provided a foundation, a framework, a structure and some building blocks from which neophyte teachers could construct their teacher identities (*teacher educator as architect*);
- The ecologist who provided nourishment, fuel, and stimulus for sustained professional growth (*teacher educator as gardener/environmentalist*);
- The parent-like support person who offered emotional support, tough love, and pastoral or career guidance with the ultimate goal of creating independence (*teacher educator as carer*); and
- The ringmaster or coordinator who linked, bridged, straddled, and somehow brought into equilibrium all the composite elements of the knowledge base and experience of teaching and schooling (*teacher educator as juggler/balancing act*).

It is, however, important to realise that these characterisations do *not* constitute a typology in the sense that they could be construed as *alternative* professional selves or personae. Rather, they represent the parts of a composite. The teacher educators did not see themselves as *either* a fellow traveller *or* a gardener *or* an architect *or* a carer *or* a juggler. Instead, to a lesser or greater extent, they saw themselves as *all* of them.

The third aspect of identity highlighted by the teacher educators' tales of being is that of emotionality. If professional identity is considered the *valued* professional self, then that also implies an *unvalued* professional self. It also implies that there may be self-images imbued with positive emotional connotations that contrast with self-images imbued with negative connotations. Markus and Nurius (1986) refer to this emotional content in self-image as the "desired" and the "feared" possible selves.

For the teacher educators in the study, none of these roles or selves was experienced without layers of discomfort, and emotional complexity. In this respect, the group members evoked an overriding sense of ambivalence and of not so much 'being in' as of straddling 'the places between' the various professional worlds to which they connected. Their discourse included constant references to 'bridging', 'straddling', 'juggling' and 'tight-rope walking'. Their various roles as teachers, servants, and researchers placed them in situations where they felt constantly 'between' and 'struggling to balance' a number of tensions. They often saw these tensions as challenges to their pedagogies and as contradictory demands on their time and energy. There was a constant search for balance and equilibrium where there seemed to be none - balance between telling and facilitating development, between supporting and challenging, between fulfilling structured course demands and responding to individual needs, between theory and practice, between teaching and research, and so on.

To be a teacher educator thus meant to have to deal with change, destabilisation, ambiguity, and dissonance around their roles, and to be in a state of 'constant becoming', with all the emotionalities that accompany these. To be a teacher educator was to feel "fulfilled" "thrilled", "excited", "on a high", "euphoric", and "alight". It was also to feel "dispirited", "constrained", guilty, over-stretched, resentful, resistant, and "bad" despite "doing good". Being a teacher educator was, above all, perhaps, to feel ambivalence, to feel torn between competing discourses, pressures, and priorities, and to feel divided between self-interest and the interests of others. It was to have one's prior beliefs and values challenged and to have to somehow accommodate and live in conflicting cultures. Being a teacher educator was to tolerate professional uncertainty. Moreover, it was to worry as much about what might be lost as to what might be gained in a profession of constant becoming, and in an era of constant political or institutional reform.

Finally, at the heart of their self-conception was a belief in the 'lived professional life'. Being a teacher educator involved more than temporarily adopting one or more occupational personae to fit the occasion. Their images of their professional selves were deeply embodied and embedded in who they were, or wanted to be, as people. These images came with a

strong self-expectation not merely to perform but to *personify* - to be a lived and modelled integration of the personal with the professional. Like their school teacher colleagues, the teacher educators found it difficult, indeed impossible, to separate the 'what' and the 'how' from the 'who' in their professional lives.

INTERLUDE: ON BELONGING AS A TEACHER EDUCATOR

Four Signs That You Have Become An Academic

Is it

When you no longer write 'teacher educator' on airport departure forms

When you forget to attach leave to a conference

When you journal-surf for pleasure

Or it is just that

This new identity c r e e p s up on you

Pocketing old ones with

A sleight of hand that might raise an eyebrow

Had you been looking.

I wasn't.

I only became aware when

The Handbook of Research on Teacher Education (3rd edition)

Arrived from Amazon

In plain-brown-papered cardboard addressed to me and

Paid for with my own money

CHAPTER 8. ON BELONGING AS A TEACHER EDUCATOR

Teacher education is Janus-faced. In the one direction it faces classroom and school, with their demands for relevance, practicality, competence, technique. On the other it faces the university and the world of research, with their stress on scholarship, theoretical fruitfulness and disciplinary rigour. (Taylor, 1983, p. 4, cited in Maguire, 2000, p. 151)

Teacher educators are caught in a world of ill-conceived and often contradictory practices ... serving many, often contradictory masters. (Sindelar & Rosenburg, 2000, p. 188)

Collective Affinities as Professional Identity

Our sense of professional ‘being’ relates to the self-images that we assume or envisage for ourselves and to how we perceive, value, and feel about ourselves in our professional roles. Like our professional motivations and our sense of our own professional expertise, our professional being focuses on the internalised ‘me’ and ‘I’ aspects of our professional identities. The final lens or perspective that I use to explore the identity-related ‘professions’ of the teacher educators in the study, however, shifts the focus to a closer exploration of the ‘we’ aspects of that professional identity - the aspects of professional identity that are about collectivity and a consciousness of belonging to, or not belonging to, particular professional groups and communities.

The ‘belonging’ perspective thus explores the aspects of the teacher educators’ professional identities that were evident as responses to the social and institutional environments they inhabited, the communities they felt part of, and not part of, and the collective community affiliations and allegiances that they held. It highlights the tensions they individually and collectively experienced in managing and balancing the membership demands, accountabilities, and professional allegiances of various groups of ‘others’, and the ways in which they saw themselves not just as self-valued individuals but as part of a valued professional ‘us’.

Socio-cultural concepts of identity tend to be oriented around the collective and group-membership aspects of professional identity (Bourdieu, 1983; Gee, 2000, and Wenger, 1998). They tend to also emphasise the influence of social interaction and social location on the development and construction of individual meaning and identity. But they also provide

frameworks for viewing identity as a collective phenomenon, as negotiations between and within and about groups or communities, each potentially with a social identity of its own. The nature of identity is thus not merely personally reflective; it is also socially dialogic. On the one hand, it is an ongoing negotiation or dialogue between one's past history and experiences, one's values and ideologies and one's current socio-cultural and politico-historical context. On the other, it is also an ongoing negotiation about group membership - a negotiation between and about groups of individual professional selves relating to each other. In other words, if the '*Being*' questions are about who I see myself to be and what I value in myself, the '*Belonging*' questions are about who, in my professional life, is 'like me', which professional communities do I belong to, and which of these do I most 'identify with'? As Bullough (2008, p. 56) suggests, "We know who we are in part by whom and with what we identify and to whom and to what we belong."

Wenger (1998) discusses identity specifically in terms of community membership, suggesting that we define ourselves most obviously by the familiar and unfamiliar communities to which we belong. Our social identity lies at the nexus of the various 'communities of practice' to which we belong. In an environment where numbers of new communities are springing up or being deliberately created, membership of such communities has an inevitable influence on professional identity. To draw on Bourdieu's language as well, becoming part of new 'fields' in new or newly merged institutions involves taking on a new 'habitus'. The teacher educators in the study who had already built a strong sense of their professional selves or identity as teacher educators in their previous institutions, found themselves, on joining different, pre-existing 'communities of practice', in the position of newcomer. Lave and Wenger (1991) and Wenger (1998), use the term 'community of practice' to refer to a group of individuals participating in communal activity, the social learning that occurs, and the shared socio-cultural practices that emerge and evolve when people who have common goals interact. Within a community of practice, members experience and continuously create a shared identity by engaging in and contributing to the practices of their communities. Lave and Wenger (1991) also coin the concept of 'legitimate peripheral participation' as a theoretical explanation for how newcomers in such circumstances become experienced members of a community of practice or collaborative project. They argue that, as an initial step, taking on low-risk 'peripheral' activities that nonetheless further the goals of the community, and through having social and physical access to more expert others in the community, neophyte members become familiar with the

tasks, discourses, and organising principles and practices of the community. They hence gradually move towards becoming fully-fledged and fully functioning members themselves.

In analysing the ways in which this participation process played out for the teacher educators in the group as a form of identity *re*-formation, I draw also on the distinction that Gee (2000) makes between ‘identity’ and ‘identification’. Particularly pertinent for this discussion are the last three of his four ‘identity perspectives’. Like Bakhtin, Gee argues that one’s *professional* identity - whether individual or collective - is constructed through the various overlapping professional discourses in which individuals and groups participate. He describes the collective aspect of professional identity as consisting of three key parts or sub-identities. These are institutional identity or *I-Identity*, discourse identity or *D-Identity*, and affinity identity or *A-Identity*.

An I-Identity acknowledges someone’s position in the social space of their employing institution. Each of the teacher educators in the group studied, for example, was working in a large institution with its own prevailing values and culture. Moreover, the institutions to which all except one of the group belonged underwent major organisational upheavals just before or during the course of the study. These upheavals affected all aspects of institutional life - leadership, management, organisational size, administrative and academic systems, and institutional culture - and brought with them a different set of cultural norms and social practices, values, discourses, and pedagogies, as well as different role expectations in relation to the I-identities of those working in them, along with opportunities to forge others.

The second of Gee’s perspectives is D-Identity, whereby individuals’ practices and reputations are constructed, recognised, and validated (or not) through the company kept and the discourses engaged in, is also of particular relevance to this study. The majority of the teacher educators in the study for example were still in the process of, and at various stages along, the continuum of adjusting to, accommodating, or assimilating the new (to them) academic discourses of the university, and their engagement with an ever-widening range of different communities of practice within the one organisation.

Gee describes the third perspective, A-Identity, as comprising one’s sense of allegiance to or affinity with particular sets of social practices and with the others participating in that shared culture. It is created and sustained, he says, through commitment to particular common endeavours. He describes an affinity group as necessarily “something one must actively choose to join” (Gee, 2000, p. 106). However, he also problematises this, highlighting the fact that, especially in a reform environment, institutions attempt to socially engineer particular practices for the benefit of the institution. On the one hand, the creation of

autonomous communities may seem to be for the benefit of individuals, in the sense that they are being inducted into a university culture that espouses the virtues of academic freedom and are being given opportunities for leadership and research involvement. On the other hand, despite an appearance to the contrary, the actual dominant power of the institution continues to exist - albeit it covertly. For example, it could be argued that, under the guise of creating self-managing communities in newly merged institutions, the deliberately fostered burgeoning of committees and research communities is geared towards acculturating newer members from the old colleges of education into the prevailing hegemonic norms and values of a 'traditional' university culture. This is particularly the case in relation to research demands and can be seen as part of an agenda to shift thinking and priorities around teacher educators' academic roles.

In this chapter, I draw on the work of these socio-cultural theorists to explore the different professional communities that the group of teacher educators felt, to a greater or lesser degree, connected with and part of. Who was the 'we' they felt or wanted to be seen as part of, and what identity/affinity dilemmas did this create for them? I argue, in relation to these questions that, at least in the New Zealand context, the upheavals experienced by teacher educators in regard to the first of Gee's three identity perspectives have significantly affected teacher educators' collective identity with respect to the other two. This upheaval in institutional identity has led to a significant sense of 'disconnect' among the other component perspectives that, for Gee, make up one's professional identity, first, by creating a disconcerting expansion in the number and natures of new discourse communities in which teacher educators take part, and second, and simultaneously with the first, by seemingly reducing opportunity for continued connection with formerly valued affinity groups. For the teacher educators in the study, the identity 'crisis' stimulated by such mergers and restructurings has consisted of discomfiting obligations to take part in new and additional professional discourses and communities as peripheralised novices, and of reduced opportunity for affinity with old and existing communities where they were at the valued centre.

The 'Multiple Mandate' Revisited

The social mandate for teacher education is frequently identified in the literature as a dual mandate, where teacher education must simultaneously serve both the world of schools and the world of the academy (Knowles, Cole, & Sumison, 2000b; Reynolds, 1995). In Chapter

5, 'On Doing Teacher Education', I argued against this notion of a dual mandate for teacher education, favouring instead that of a 'multiple mandate' as a better representation of the multifarious tasks that the teacher educators were undertaking and of the responsibilities or accountabilities that they felt. Similarly, in relation to the communities of practice to which the educators either belonged or owed allegiance, this tendency to identify teacher education as merely Janus-faced - as a profession facing in only two directions (the school and the academy) - is equally over-simplistic. Rather I would agree with Sindelar and Rosenberg (2000) in their characterisation of teacher education in the US as having to "serve too many, often contradictory masters" (p. 188). Certainly, the notion of facing in only two directions does not take sufficient account of the number of 'masters', communities, and sub-cultures that the teacher educators in the study related to or felt responsible to as a matter of professional allegiance.

More than two significant professional communities featured in the lives of these teacher educators, and for each of these communities, and the sub-communities within them, there were variable and complex points of both affinity and tension, 'in-ness' and 'out-ness', all held in dynamic balance but that needed to be taken into consideration in any description of their collective 'identity'.

Ali, for example, synthesised the pressures she and the others felt in trying to establish, maintain, or retain credibility among a large number of different competing groups:

There are so many masters ... That's one of the pressures of the job - being very aware that there are different masters and that we have to, if not please them all, be seen to be doing something valuable by them all and not alienating any one. It's belonging to a professional association. Obviously, students are critical; obviously, the institutional hierarchy in terms of what I'm delivering. But also the teachers in schools. My subject association. It's keeping links with other teachers. I think that's really important to be seen as credible, to be seen as someone who is promoting good practice. I think it's really important that we do mix with other English teachers and keep our credibility in the community. I feel that's a master in a way because it's important that we have a voice on subject associations and that we're seen to be part of the sharing in the community of English teachers or media teachers as it may be. But also the general public because they have a different conception of what's happening in colleges. And there is going to be a new master - an unknown master - and that's

the university. What are their expectations? What other hoops am I going to have to jump through? What do they want? What are their expectations? There are heaps of masters - more masters than as a teacher. (Interview, 2006)

Here, Ali identified some of the many constituencies to which, as a teacher educator, she felt she owed allegiance: student teachers, her professional subject association(s), the teaching profession and all its component groups (schools, school leaders, ex-colleagues in schools), school pupils, the newly created institution she worked in, and the educational research community within it. Even this list is not exhaustive. Across the interviews, Ali and the other members of the group described the communities that they felt more or less a part of. These included the professional discipline of teacher education generally, and of English/media/drama education in particular; their fellow pre-service, and in-service teacher educator colleagues in other institutions; the educational research fraternities within and outside their institutions; and at least two educational policy communities at national level - one involved in curriculum development and one in assessment policy. In other words, the group negotiated simultaneously their membership of multiple communities.

At times, these memberships overlapped, dovetailed, and were synergetic; at other times, they competed for attention, energy, and loyalty. Lewis described the disequilibrium of the latter as a “complex balancing act between keeping the ‘street cred’” with various school communities and “positioning yourself strategically in the institution and teacher education fields” and its communities. The former connections he described in terms of “professional credibility”; the latter, more in terms of “career safety”.

School communities

As noted earlier in the thesis, all of the teacher educators began their professional lives as school teachers. All brought shared histories and identities and substantial experience to their teacher education careers as former leaders of the secondary school fraternity. Not surprisingly, their lived connections to teaching secondary students, to the teaching community/ies, to schools, and to the broader educational policy groups that impacted on and influenced their work were thus long established. The values, beliefs, attitudes, sense of agency and of self-efficacy, and the many different knowledges and understandings that they had developed over time, had constructed strong professional identities as leading teachers, and had created long-standing loyalties to these communities.

In her study of teacher educator professionalism, Murray (2002, 2005a) found that teacher educators with fewer than three years' experience of higher education (HE) work shared similar professional biographies and attributes. She theorised that these tutors had constructed a model of professionalism that she termed 'practitioner bond professionalism'. Within this ambit of professionalism, the tutors held a strong sense of responsibility and commitment to the school sector, and their identities as former school teachers served as their main source of professional credibility.

Lewis described what this notion of 'practitioner bond professionalism' meant for the way he had himself as a professional, as, over time, he had shifted his identity as a teacher of English to that of an English teacher educator:

That's an interesting dilemma I've been really working through for a long time. My first reaction is to say my first allegiance is to secondary English teachers, but of course I am not one of them now, and I haven't been for some time. When I came into teacher education, I certainly saw myself as an ex-secondary English teacher for the first two or three years. I carried on seeing myself virtually as a teacher. I virtually saw myself as a secondary teacher working in a tertiary institution, and I played on that a lot. I fell back on experience a lot. I quoted my experience a lot and it was very, very useful for my credibility and the students loved it. But gradually, over time, I've had to realise, over time, that I'm now an ex, ex, *ex*-secondary English teacher. I am no longer one of those. While those people are still my constituency and where I naturally like to be ... I am now a teacher educator. (Interview, 2008)

Similar affinities with school-based communities emerged for all participants in the study. Despite the resulting tensions that the longstanding nature of these affiliations generated, such affinities persisted many years into their teacher education careers. Rachel, for example, felt constantly drawn back to teaching a class or classes in schools while keeping her job as a teacher educator. She acknowledged that her motives for this were varied and even contradictory. It was a desire, she said, founded in all of: the university apparently "want[ing] me because of my recent school experience"; an ongoing sense of loneliness and isolation within the academy; a desire to keep ties with a familiar environment where she felt respected and valued; and her perceived need to maintain ongoing credibility both with student teachers and with the schools where she placed those students on practicum. Even after completing her doctorate, she was still attracted to the secondary

classroom and school community as something that was viscerally satisfying, in contrast to the administrative, programme-coordination roles she had by then undertaken in the academy. Although, at one point, she noted that she had moved beyond feeling that her credibility still depended on current school experience, the invisible ties persisted: “Fifteen months ago, I probably had felt at that point I had done enough in the classroom, but by the end of the year I really felt I needed a year to have some more time [there]. At the end of last year, I realised I needed to get back. I needed some time in the classroom again”. Her part-time work in schools continued sporadically across the course of this study.

Lewis and Ali often mentioned the subtle, nostalgic “tugs” they felt to be back in a secondary classroom, especially when visiting pre-service students on teaching practice. Sarah expressed her early anxieties about “losing contact with that classroom teacher part of me”, noting that her “reputation as a teacher” was crucial to her sense of how the world saw her. She stressed, for example, that she “always make[s] a point of saying to my students, ‘I’m only recently out of that classroom, I’m still a teacher in my heart, I haven’t really moved away so much that I can’t remember what it’s like’”.

All acknowledged at some point, that the school classroom-connected communities of former colleagues and school students were ones for which they felt strong and ongoing affinity and nostalgia. As they expressed it, in schools their D-identities, their I-identities, and their A-identities were unified, coherent, at one with one another. Yet, while all were unequivocal in their identification and commitment to various school-based communities they still dealt with, none of these allegiances had remained unproblematic for them. As Lewis noted, for example, “When it comes to difficult decisions about my students,” earlier allegiances to “kids back in the classroom” superseded more recent allegiances to pre-service students. He saw this priority as “a given for any of us teacher educators ... [even though] “in the day to day running, my ultimate allegiance is to those students in front of me” Even more frustrating was that, despite their loyalty, sense of care, and great pleasure in working with student teachers, several of the group expressed a strong sense that, despite their best efforts, they were frequently and even actively undermined by the very sector that they were most concerned to stay a part of. Conscious of what they saw as negative discourses about teacher education in schools, they observed that people who worked in colleges were “looked down on” and that there was “no conception out in schools of what lecturers do.” Teachers think “people who work in colleges have an easy life”, and that they are “out of touch”.

Whatever the reasons, all members of the group faced the dilemma of having to struggle for credibility once they left the classroom. Dealing with a perceived lack of respect

for and/or understanding of the challenging and complex nature of the role was a commonly experienced phenomenon. To illustrate, Ali related an anecdote of a former colleague describing teacher education as a kind of “retirement school” - as something that would be “nice to do at the end of a career when one is quietening down”. Dan expressed his frustration at the false theory/practice divide that he saw still perpetuated in secondary schools when he described his student teachers arriving in schools on practicum and being told to, “forget about everything they’ve told you in that place, we’ll tell you the real stuff”.

Recognising and processing such negative and binary ‘us and them’ discourses was a burden that most of the group said they grappled with in defining themselves as teacher educators. Lewis said that “the further away from the English classroom [I got,] the more vulnerable I felt” describing his “feeling of ‘selling out’”, in the sense that his whole professional life had been built around the practical passion of teaching, of “rolling up your sleeves and getting stuck in”. He extolled “the abrasiveness of them [school students] and interaction of it, and the grittiness of it. ...The worry is I’m quite sensitive about what people say: ‘Well, hop back to your ivory tower.’ Even if they say it jokingly. I’m not very thick-skinned about this yet”. Lewis’s description highlights the way teachers represent teaching as tough, abrasive, intensely practical, and hands-on, and construct the university in clichéd terms as remote, detached from the harsh realities of the classroom, non-practical, theoretical, protected, somehow less relevant and not very hard.

Sarah, too, who had always worked as a teacher educator within a university environment rather than in a specialist college of education, highlighted the same “alienation” when she suddenly realised she was seen as “one of them; one of those people who sit in the ivory tower, rather than someone who is at the chalk face” . Lewis, like Sarah and Rachel, acknowledged the tension this created between feeling both an “ease with” and a sense of separateness from the teaching community. He said he found it “quite hard to reconcile my love of being with them with the fact that I’m separate from those people ... and I am different ... I feel I’ve got something to offer those English teachers but I am separate from them”.

It appears that for most of the group such emotional ties, forged by prior relationships, contextual experience, familiarity, and earlier identities as teachers, continued to provide a strong gravitational pull back towards these communities, a force that was hard to break. An inevitable consequence of this was thus to make any shift to a specifically teacher educator professional identity all the more difficult. Since their numbers were few and since they shared a curriculum area with known ex-colleagues, they were as individuals personally

known and identifiable and therefore felt they were held directly responsible for the quality of the students they ‘produced’. The teacher educators’ relationship with and allegiance to the school community was thus ultimately problematic in respect of membership of a community of practice, and even as a matter of ‘affinity’ grouping. Despite a lingering identification with school-based communities, the group felt acutely conscious that such identification was not necessarily reciprocated. In some ways, they were positioned to suffer from what might be called a ‘credibility crisis’: they felt forced to prove their worth as teachers even more once they had left schools, but found it hard to reconcile this stance with the dismissive attitude of former colleagues towards them, an attitude that those teachers, in turn, often conveyed to student teachers.

Communities of fellow subject leaders

For almost all members of the group, one, if not *the*, main source of a relatively unconflicted sense of ‘belonging’ came from working with fellow leaders in their curriculum area and, as Jane put it, “like-minded people in the educational community”, rather than from their work with former teacher colleagues or from fellow educationalists in their own institutions. More often than not, these communities of fellow leaders were external to the teacher educators’ employing institutions, being associated with either voluntary national subject associations, in particular the New Zealand Association for the Teaching of English (NZATE) and the New Zealand Association for Drama in Education (NZADIE), or with groupings formed or fostered through policy and curriculum development work at a national level. The latter tended to be *ad hoc* groups such as expert panels, national and project advisory groups, working parties to develop new resources, or new curriculum and assessment documentation groups. These groups, drawn from a known ‘pool’ of teacher educator colleagues and curriculum leaders from around the country, often had overlapping memberships.

They also acknowledged membership of these regional and national groups as a major source of their professional development and ongoing learning. For most, they offered opportunities to talk about their professional lives with compatible others as well as opportunities to influence and contribute to the general direction of New Zealand schooling. Participation in such communities served as a key source of professional status and power, and of their sense of legitimacy among the communities they were part of. It was talked of as “cutting edge ... [work that] gives teachers in schools confidence in the expertise of the person that these students are working with while they are in college and that what they are seeing students do can often impact on the classroom teacher.” Through their membership of

such national communities, and through their work with students, they felt able to influence the profession more directly.

Jane summed up the fulfilment she derived from working collaboratively on national contract work with other English educators, as feeling “richly blessed by working with ... stunning colleagues. We got the job done, working with like-minded people.” Her decision to withdraw from the national council of NZATE and the strong professional/social network it provided for her, because of the pressures of other work given a higher priority by her institution, “caused me a lot of darn grief, because that was one of the places I got replenishment”. Although this role was voluntary and done in her own time, it was demanding work, requiring her to give up at least four weekends a year. Lewis, too, eventually gave up his work with NZATE and for similar reasons. Leaving made both of them feel torn and regretful, although, as Lewis commented, “I felt I had to pull back in the sense that I had other things to do ... I had to manage my career better”.

Rachel also talked of the importance of her ongoing involvement with her local curriculum association. This community was one for which she felt both loyalty and responsibility and she valued it at both an interpersonal and a pragmatic level. She believed the “nuts-and-bolts-level work” entailed was making an important contribution to professional development in her curriculum area, and she enjoyed the fellowship of these “very affirming and good people”. However, like Lewis and Sally, she recognised that such a community could not serve all her professional learning needs as a teacher educator. She, too, had become aware that hers was now a different role, that she was being “moved on” pedagogically and academically, and that her focus was increasingly being turned elsewhere.

Academic communities

Not unexpectedly, given their (mostly) practitioner pathway histories, it was membership of academic communities that the group saw as most problematic. Their comments revealed a number of reasons for this, not the least of which being the particular pressures imposed by the performance based research funding (PBRF) regime for tertiary institutions that was introduced during the study. This regime placed newly merged faculties, schools, and colleges of education in particularly vulnerable positions in terms of their capability to attract maximum funding and to therefore ‘pay their way’ within wider university structures. The short (in research output terms) timelines between PBRF rounds meant that new groups of academic staff were under particular scrutiny and pressure to perform as researchers. Although working within a tertiary institution was not new for any of the group, they

perceived that the change in culture and expectation occasioned by the newly merged/merging *university* institutions offered the biggest identity and identification challenges.

All but two of the group had begun their teacher educator careers in specialist teacher education institutions or colleges of education that were closer in terms of culture to schools than to universities, and where their promotion and status had been determined by different criteria. In those organisations, it could be said that their cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1983), or I-Identity, had come mostly from their being excellent practitioners and their contributions to the wider educational and curriculum development environment. In contrast, within the university cultural capital, or an I-Identity, was acquired more by doing research and becoming a productive member of academically oriented ‘researcher’ or ‘educationalist’ communities.

Given the teacher educators’ history, their strong commitment to teaching as core business, and what we know about change and its management in educational settings (e.g., Fullan, 2001; Heifetz & Linsky, 2002; Marris, 1975; Spillane, Reiser, & Reimer, 2002; Waters, Marzano, & McNulty, 2003), it seems hardly surprisingly that the upheavals in the group’s institutional contexts (in expectations, structures, processes, and role descriptions) inevitably became a source of tension, ambiguity, uncertainty, and of cognitive and emotional dissonance. Each of them was being asked to engage in what theorists variously call “adaptive change” (Heifetz & Linsky, 2002), “second-order change” (Waters et al., 2003) and “third level change” (Spillane et al., 2002, citing Marris, 1975) - the kind of deep-level change that challenges existing beliefs, theories, knowledge, and practices. It takes time and the right sets of conditions to bring about change of such magnitude and complexity precisely because it represents a challenge to, and sometimes requires a significant shift in their professional identity.

Bourdieu’s concept of ‘symbolic violence’ also goes part way towards explaining the teacher educators’ sense of increasing fragmentation and tension among the community roles that they described. When those who hold symbolic capital (in this case the group’s university employers) use their institutional authority and the power that this confers against those who hold less in an effort to alter the latter’s practices or ‘habitus’, they are said to be exercising symbolic violence. The concept of symbolic violence may also lie behind tacit modes of cultural/social domination occurring within a reforming institution, such as the changing of titles, reviewed hierarchy and new administrative structures, as well as behind more openly expressed ones, such as the emphasis on PBRF and research outputs, increased

workload, staffing, larger class sizes, and different expectations of delivery methods. Symbolic violence comes about through what is profiled and discussed - whose discourses prevail - as well as what becomes invisible, unmentioned or unheard. Maguire (2000), in her study of teacher educators in the British academy, describes the impact of symbolic violence practised consciously or unconsciously within the university and the ways in which it “may induce a need [for teacher educators] to legitimate themselves as ‘academics’. Whatever the outcome in practice, the discourse of ‘academic’ is an invidious and powerful mechanism for regulation and control” (p. 155).

There was a sense, then, that the group felt they were “in a period of limbo” with respect to their group membership identities. Not all were at the point where they readily saw their student teachers and schools of teacher education receiving benefit from being in a more overtly ‘academic’ culture. Moreover, it is important not to slip into the comfortable binary of assuming that the group’s teacher education courses to date had been research-uninformed. The tension for most of them lay around the perceived institutional prioritising of research *over* or *at the expense of* teaching, and around imposed changes in their pedagogical delivery, rather than in their inability or unwillingness to engage in research *per se*.

For many in the group, feeling part of a community, with other teacher educators, particularly those who had a shared biography as teachers in schools, become a safe haven and continuing source of affinity and credibility. Sarah, for example, when speaking of the value she drew from this community said she did so “generally because most of the people I work with have come from being classroom practitioners ... dealing with the same sort of kids that I dealt with and with the same sort of problems. We talk the same language.”

What Sarah described as speaking the same language refers to something much broader than language in use or discourse. Rather, it is what Gee (2000) would call Discourse, with an upper case ‘D’, which he describes as

characteristic (socially and culturally formed, but historically changing) ways of talking and writing about, as well as acting with and toward, people and things. These ways are circulated and sustained within various texts, artefacts, images, social practices, and institutions, as well as in moment-to-moment social interactions. In turn, they cause certain perspectives and states of affairs to come to seem or be taken as “normal” or “natural” and others to seem or be taken as “deviant” or “marginal”. (n.p.)

Discourse, in this sense, also involves the set of assumptions, shared histories, and experiences that lie behind the language, and that are validated or perpetuated through the sharing of these experiences.

Yet while there may be comfort in familiar affiliations and the shared discourses/Discourses that go with them, the dilemma of which communities the group aspired to become part of and the dilemma of which Discourses they felt they needed to master was a major cause of tension and ambivalence. This uncertainty manifested itself in a number of ways. For example, many expressed their quandary over where they should focus their ongoing professional development and learning in terms of “feeling torn” among different communities with different agendas, expectations, and criteria for professional credibility. They faced the conundrum of balancing their existing subject-community affiliations and broader content and pedagogical content knowledge subject interests with their need to focus on the generic issues/knowledges of teacher education theory and practice that are arguably associated with belonging to a more research-oriented community.

Rachel summed this situation up as having to traverse the “shifting sands” of life as a teacher educator. Teacher educators, she said, had to “straddle that strange world all the time; of deciding priorities between professional development in curriculum areas or conferences that are purely teacher education for teacher educators.” For Rachel, the need to remain current, or at “the cutting edge in terms of curriculum” areas, while simultaneously upskilling and “refocussing on areas of educational research” presented an ongoing and, ultimately, irreconcilable dilemma.

Their simultaneous membership of many different communities throws into relief the dilemmas of trying to marry and reconcile contrasting expectations from those different groups. Albeit in somewhat simplistic binary terms, Lewis expressed the complexity of integrating or reconciling these different facets within his professional identity thus:

Professionally and personally I’ve found it a conundrum. The theory versus the practice. The academic versus the pragmatic. The ‘roll the sleeves up and get stuck in’ [of] me with students ... with the slightly more studious me who has to wear glasses and, startlingly, is enjoying writing academic essays at times. (Interview, 2007)

For most of the group, the recent institutional amalgamations and reforms had served to intensify, rather than reduce, their belief in the need to maintain credibility with their existing communities from the schooling sector and with their national and regional subject leadership

communities. At the same time, the considerable pressure to further develop their identities as scholars and researchers and to take on membership of new academic and research communities, within and beyond the universities employing them, had led to their striving to *add* these roles and identities to those already existing, rather than to substitute them. In short, they faced the dilemma of how to “appease both practitioners and academics” while working in cultures where “connections to practical and professional are not viewed with understanding or sympathy”. This position was an uncomfortable one for those whose strongest sense of professional identity had been as teachers: images such as “torn down the middle” and “too stretched” were prominent among the expressions they used to articulate this sense of fragmentation.

Conversely, however, several members of them said that their allegiances to the communities they had formerly been part of had been “loosened” and even lost in the face of new university discourses. Many also perceived the university to be an individualising culture - a culture that did not even try to be a community of practice. In several of the institutions, for instance, newly formed vertical organisational structures, such as cross-curricular schools or departments, had replaced old structures. The new formations tended to comprise staff who had not traditionally worked together or did not share common links. Some even had competing interests. Ali and Rachel, for example, although in very different institutions, both spoke of the complexity of now being administratively and physically separated from colleagues who worked in similar programmes or who had similar research and subject interests. They, like most of the others, had found themselves making decisions about where and which school they would be functionally part of. They described the problematic nature of these new silos in such terms as “marriages of convenience, rather than of true minds”, “doesn’t gel”, “there appears to be little mixing and mingling [with other potential communities]”. As a result, the old institutional identity established in the specialist colleges was seen as “under siege”. These restructurings, they said, were more than merely symbolic. As one noted “... it is more than shifting jobs, it is our core values that are under threat, and no-one seems to understand that”.

In summary, then, at the same time as old affinities and connections were being weakened and diffused, the process of merging two tertiary cultures with seemingly different *modus operandi* or *tikanga*²² was far from unproblematic. Faced with this process, most of the

²² Tikanga refers to the set of customs, protocols, and rules by which a Māori iwi (tribe) or whanau (extended family) govern themselves and guide their daily life and interactions within Māori culture. Commonly based on cumulative experience and learning over time, this very rich and contestable term is associated with a

group initially took an additive approach, trying to expand their range of professional activity and community membership to include new ones without giving up established ones, to rationalise new sources of credibility while still trying to hold onto previous ones, and to engage in new, additional discourses without withdrawing from previous, and arguably more valued, ones.

It was in the area of research that this ‘clash’ of cultures, with its different sets of protocols, beliefs, and organising principles, was most highlighted. While the entire group talked about a significant “pressure” and “expectation” to become part of their new environment and to take on the mantle of researchers, this was not a discourse/Discourse that all of them were necessarily familiar with or confident about. For example, although several of them had been involved in research as part of advanced study before they became teacher educators, conducting empirical research had not been an expectation of the culture of either New Zealand schools or its colleges of education. There, professional development was more likely to concern implementation of new curriculum and assessment policies within the classroom than to involve research-informed and evidence-based practices such as action research.

Moreover, many in the group did not necessarily see any compatibility in terms of inherent value between the discourses of research and those of practice as teacher educators, and nor did they yet feel part of the research community/ies, however these were being defined. On the one hand, and at one extreme, because their courses were research-informed, the act of engaging in research was not necessarily new to them. In their institutions, they felt encouraged and supported to become researchers and indeed many said they greatly enjoyed the research process. However, on the other hand, they also felt pressured into prioritising it above all else. Most importantly, perhaps, they perceived that the extra activity came at the cost of practising and modelling appropriate pedagogies within their teaching. At this end of the continuum, they reported feeling that research was functional, pragmatic, and imposed, and more than one of them said they felt, as a result, “quite disillusioned” about this expected part of their work.

Put in Wenger’s terms, the group found that the newly constituted colleges and schools of education expected ‘legitimate peripheral participation’ in research communities of practice. To facilitate this, and to prepare staff for success under PBRF, most institutions had

Māori world view. However, I have used the term deliberately to highlight the way that, within particular cultures, customs and protocols are developed over time, and the ways that they may encapsulate tools of thought and organise behaviour (Mead, 2003).

set up a range of committees, groups, regular seminars, training sessions, and so forth to induct their teacher education colleagues, and to introduce them to the cultural capital prized by the university. However, it could be argued that the values that ‘legitimised’ the research act and its consequent applications to the research community were not the same as those that legitimised it as professional action to the teacher educators. Ali, for example, highlighted her lack of feeling “invited in”, and said that making “things available” was not the same as actively fostering a community, which, in her view, should take account of the social and emotional needs of staff as well as their intellectual ones. In her experience, research seminars were not, in themselves, sufficient to help her bridge the gulf.

Things are presented and then left. I am mourning the loss of social linkages that would help me make meaning of these ideas and create a sense of community-building ... the sense of being part of a community and operating in communities has gone except for the beginning teachers I am working with. (Interview, 2008)

Ali added that she saw the systems already getting in the way - challenging those loyalties that she had previously maintained and making her feel “increased pressure in the university to perform”. Her experience mirrored comments made by several others, although Lewis had a somewhat different take on the matter. He thought that not too much had changed “as yet ... as long as they leave us alone, I will stay loyal. But once systems start getting in the way, I won’t”. These comments indicate the tendency in some to adopt a reactive rather than a proactive position in relation to their changing professional identity - of staving off the inevitable rather than seeing and actively seeking new opportunities and taking agency.

Such comments also throw into relief both the differences and the parallels that many of them experienced between their initial ‘induction’ into teacher education in the Colleges of Education and their period of ‘re-induction’ as those colleges merged with their local universities. This is not to say that their initial entry into teacher education had been free of feelings of culture shock, involving as it did a number of very uncomfortable emotional responses that they described as feeling “turned upside down” and “tipped up the other way”, “feeling totally bewildered and uncertain”, “chasing my tail”. Rather, during their entry into the colleges, they had also felt “delighted with the freedom to be creative”, to be “valued and given total autonomy”, benefits they had not necessarily experienced as secondary teachers, where their days were circumscribed by bells, full days of teaching, co-curricular

responsibilities, and other administrative and compliance-driven requirements. In their new roles as teacher educators in specialist colleges, they had been largely autonomous, often singletons or one of only two working in the same subject/curriculum area. They were expected to be proactive. Indeed, part of the reason for their feelings of being overwhelmed was due to their being expected “to get on with it”. Nevertheless, and most tellingly, they did not talk of feeling marginalised or peripheralised as members of a community then. They spoke more of being accepted and valued in the cultures of the specialist colleges, especially because that culture, in many ways, replicated or was at least redolent of their old ones - without the bells and tedium of playground duty. Coming in as ‘expert’ teachers, as practitioners with sound reputations, had given them instant credibility and acceptance. They were people recently out of the classroom with *real* experience.

In contrast, when the institutions in which they had first developed their collective identity as teacher educators merged with the universities, these by now highly experienced teacher educators reported feeling overwhelmed all over again, but for very different reasons, and with very different feelings around their relative sense of autonomy, capability, credibility, and, ultimately, affinity. They spoke often of joining the academy as a form of “starting again” and of being inducted (ironically often by those with little knowledge of their prior teacher education culture) into a new teacher education culture, having just developed a professional identity in the old one (see Chapter 4). The emotions they described experiencing in relation to the ‘new’ culture were distinctly different from the ones they described in relation to joining the ‘old’ one. They reported, for example, feeling that their “values, skills and knowledge [were] disrespected”. They reported feelings of being “disempowered” and being “deprived of agency and autonomy in the face of a prevailing and vast university culture”. They felt that their work was perceived as “irrelevant” and that “its professional nature [was] considered inferior”. The merger process itself was characterised as one of having been “swallowed up and devoured”. They considered they had “little credibility or recognition for their skills and for teacher education generally”, and that “decisions about [their] pedagogy ... [were being] driven by economic rationalism rather than what [they believed to be] ... ‘best practice’”. Most harboured a strong feeling that “there is not a lot of valuing of what we do, and no one can get a handle on what we do”, and that, for the most part, there was little interest in what they did.

In short, when they had first become teacher educators, finding an identity had been a relatively empowering process for them. While it was a rollercoaster, it was also an exciting adventure into the not-quite unknown, where the knowledge and skills they brought from

their teaching careers were seen as strengths. By contrast, starting again in the university had so far been a more disempowering process, evoking in most of them feelings of dislocation and uncertainty. The pressure to recreate their identities as researchers and academics in order to fulfil new job descriptions and institutional expectations elicited more of a discourse of compliance, obligation, and irrelevance than a discourse of challenge, opportunity and affinity. They talked more of being “out of tune” with these aspects of the new culture, of publication as “a game” and of the institution or PBRF as a “taskmaster”. They peppered their comments with such words as “dissonance”, “disillusion”, “deficit discourses”.

There is a dissonance between what is perceived to be crucial *for* me, and what I perceive *myself* is important. (Interview, 2008)

I feel offended by the deficit discourses I hear in this institution: it is all about “getting us up to scratch”, so we are not being “carried or subsidised” by the other colleges. (Interview, 2008)

The university taskmaster sees me as an income earner, and I need to do the research so I can do the research and get a PBRF rating. I would like the balance to be better than it is, as I think the culture of the university is research and not teaching, and I don’t fit comfortably into that. (Interview, 2008)

A commonly expressed feeling in these more recent discourses was that of moving from being one of ‘us’ to being one of ‘them’. What several saw as overtly compliance-driven institutional attempts to recreate their professional identities were received with mixed feelings - of reluctant and at times painful recognition of the consequences of mandated shifts in focus on both their perceptions and their professional roles. These attempts also prompted frustration about the “increased pressure in the university environment to be a researcher, and discomfort with the cutting back of teaching time ... for, as I see it, what are financial reasons”.

Lewis’s experiences provide a good ‘case’ of the group’s ambivalent experiences in this regard. Reflecting on his feelings over the previous five years, he highlighted his initial discomfort at being labelled an ‘academic’. He “fought,” he said, “against the idea of research and post-graduate study, while I sat on my pragmatic and practical approach to teaching” (2003). Two years later though, his anti-intellectual stance had softened. He acknowledged that he had become “more reconciled to the fact that there are some good things for me personally and for my practice about research, about doing more study, and I

gradually feel more comfortable with the idea that maybe I'm going to be heading into academia ... and maybe I might occasionally feel excited" (2005). A further three years on, he argued that he had found more of a balance, even if it was still an uncomfortable one. His teaching identity was still non-negotiable - "still very much what defines me", and his "research and post-grad" were being "worked around" his teaching. Yet he also recognised that he had subtly redefined his role and identity over that time:

I'm in a period now where I'm really just thinking now what my identity, what it is, and if I'm being really honest, thinking about how I'm going to *position myself* [my emphasis] to take myself through the next ten years. I really want to carry on working at least another ten years. And some things are becoming apparent. I can't carry on being an adviser. I'm more a tertiary person now, so it's interesting times. There is a certain inevitability about extra study, research. I can see that maybe I just need to give it a go and just enjoy it - the intellectual challenge. (Interview, 2008)

The label 'academic' still did not sit easily with him. While he accepted that study and research were part of his new role, the concept was not one he 'owned', nor was it strictly how he would prefer to label his own professional identity.

I couldn't call myself an academic by any stretch of the imagination. I don't see my role as an academic function. I see myself as a teaching function informed by academia. But if I'm being - putting - a positive spin on being part of the university, it has formalised where I was going anyway. (Interview, 2008)

For Lewis, the shifts had been subtle, gradual, and reactive, marked initially by feelings of anti-intellectual passive resistance, through grudging to willing acceptance, through to secret enjoyment of the challenge. Lewis's account of his changing identity, the ways in which he responded to change and how he coped, highlighted the importance of his own proactivity and his "relentlessly positive" attitude. The process was stressful and complex, but he emphasised that as long as his sense of moral purpose and core values remained intact, he had also grown professionally because he had adapted.

The last two or three years have been the most stressful that I have encountered. One thing that has happened to me is that I have been able to, or been forced to or drifted into, changing and rolling with it and reinventing myself and doing different things. You need to be constantly reinventing yourself or allowing

yourself to be doing different things. I have drifted into some things, but being able to adapt and change and trying to enjoy those changes rather than resisting them hugely has made it manageable and it has given me an opportunity to contribute more. I feel as if I have broadened out and deepened down. I've been able to embrace opportunities and gone with them, and it isn't too bad by and large. Even the study thing - there have been good points to it, and people say, "Do you like your job?" ... I love it, and I acknowledge that it can be really stressful for people and for me, but constant change can be hard on people and wondering what your actual identity is. I think, in my case, my sense of identity has nothing to do with the institution but it's got to do with what I came into teaching to do and that has sustained me, and I know where I stand and that hasn't changed - it's those core beliefs and values. (Interview, 2008)

For Rachel, who *began* her teacher education career in a university setting, the experience of merging with the college community was also a source of discomfort and dislocation. Ironically, the merger process from her (university) perspective was just as traumatic as it had been for Lewis, coming from the college perspective. In Rachel's case, there was a sense that the hegemonic culture in the newly merging institution was closer to the college one. As was the case in other university/college mergers, academic staffs from university departments were required to relocate to the college of education campuses, with the accompanying dislocation from other university colleagues, and facilities on the main campus. So while she had already struggled with feeling peripheralised within the university environment, the same occurred in her contacts with the newly merged college, where she also felt unwelcome.

Not all the group found adding, or reconciling, the mantle of researcher to that of teacher as traumatic as Lewis and Ali. At the other end of the continuum, taking on a researcher identity and being accepted as part of the academic research community was considerably easier for Anna, partly because she was the one member of the group who had come to teacher education having already gained her doctorate. While she also talked of the "grieving" she experienced during the merger, perhaps due to some feelings of loss of specialness as an already active researcher in the old institution, her PhD and previous publication record now brought her automatic credibility in the academy. Subsequent promotion to associate professor ensured further academic status within the new college and the wider university, and her new role as Dean of Post-graduate Studies led to research rather

than teaching becoming her core business. Of all the group, Anna embraced the new identity of academic researcher the most comfortably and easily. She became a fully participating member of a number of research and wider university groups, by whom she felt accepted, and within which she contributed fully and had a shaping influence.

Others in the group also seized this opportunity to shape and lead within the newly formed or re-formed institutions, though seemingly in their cases with more ambivalence of spirit. Several of them gained key roles in the new management hierarchy. So while the reforms still involved a sense of dissonance and loss, they also carried with them personal, professional, and academic growth opportunities, which many of the group had yet to fully realise at the time I finished interviewing them. As McLean (Sumsion, 2002, p. 874) observes, “The process of becoming, however, is not ‘a solitary or self-contained process—it occurs in a time and space where others, some much more powerful than yourself, also are bent on constructing ‘you’ in an image they value’.”

What seems apparent, then, is that each of the teacher educators had to take a high degree of personal agency in order to create a niche or find a place within newly forming and, in some ways, artificial communities, and that their collective identity had been ‘hot-housed’ as a result of the university/college mergers. Each felt subject to an ‘absorption’ into a different, and dominant, set of social, linguistic, and cultural discourses that had not been a prominent part of their previous professional culture.

For most of the group, moreover, there was a strong feeling that the requirement to ‘adapt’ had been largely one-sided, and that the strong sense of agency and autonomy that characterised their sense of a valued collective ‘self’ in the colleges had been significantly diminished. All of them, to a greater or lesser degree, described feeling manipulated and/or “forced to comply”, as one of them put it, with the demands of a culture that expected them to value their roles differently, and that valued different abilities and experiences in them than they themselves valued. Discourses that highlighted their novitiate status as researchers, that represented teacher education as being “subsidised by other parts of the university” and the like, added to their feelings of discomfort, inequality, and low status, and created an ongoing sense of need to justify their existence, both to themselves and to others.

Conclusion: Living ‘Between’ Communities

In this chapter I have argued that it is too simplistic to say that teacher educators feel only a ‘dual responsibility’, and a connection to only two main ‘us’ communities - the schools from

whence they came and the academy that they had just joined. Rather, the communities that they felt they ‘served’ and to which they ‘belonged’ were more complex and conflicted in nature, and greater in number, than such binary representations of teacher educators’ community affiliations imply.

Secondly, I have argued that, despite the competition for time and allegiance among the various cultures and communities to which they belonged or saw themselves as bridging, the teacher educators tended to rate their own value according to rather different, and arguably incommensurable, value systems from those of many of those communities. A mere sense of ‘membership’ of, or even ‘responsibility’ to a community does not necessarily equate with a sense of ‘affinity’ or ‘belonging’ to that community, and this distinction needs to be teased out in any description of the group’s professional identity.

And, thirdly, I have argued in this chapter that the group tended to see themselves as ‘other’ more than as ‘us’, with ambivalence rather than comfortable affinity characterising their relationships with most of the communities they were part of, with possible exception of the national leadership groups that they participated in. There were strongly felt ambivalences about how welcome and valued they were in relation to many of these communities. The possible exception to this might be the national leadership groups that they participated in.

For most of the group, then, there was a strong feeling that the community of teacher educators exists in the spaces ‘betwixt and between’ - not firmly a part of or ‘in’ any one teacher or academic group, yet not solid enough in their own group identity to stand comfortably on their own or outside them. While they felt confident about themselves in their roles as teacher educators, they felt less certainty of the status of teacher education itself among these ‘other’ groups. Even within their own institutions, most felt that ‘others’ regarded them as outsiders, on the margins, not unlike, perhaps, Ducharme’s (1986, p. 3) colourful metaphor of teacher educators in the US as both the most recent and “the least welcome guests at the educational lawn party of the establishment of higher education”.

The most recent edition of the *Handbook of Research on Teacher Education* (2008) highlights the variable consequences of relocating US teacher education in the university for several decades. While this relocation has allowed teacher education programmes “to bask in the glow of the university’s high status”, it has been at the expense of their “professional mission”, has resulted in an “unstable” accommodation, and has made it “difficult to strike the right balance of the academic and professional” (Labaree, 2008, pp. 304–305). Despite teacher education’s having resided in US universities for over 40 years, the fact that even now such comments persist in the international literature both foreshadows and goes a way to

helping explain the feelings of this group, as the profession in New Zealand shifts from the practitioner to the academic pathway.

Such responses may also explain why, for many of the group, their main *affinity* group (what Gee calls their A-Identity) was that of their fellow subject leaders at national level, rather than either that of their former schoolteacher colleagues or that of their new academic colleagues. Within these subject leader groups, they not only had shared commitments and interests in curriculum or assessment development, and an associated interest in leading the professional development of teachers nationally, but they also felt that they were with others who shared, valued, and respected their expertise, that they were among equals, and so forth. This sense of placing one's *affinity* where one feels most valued, may also explain why so much positive energy and commitment was put into building a 'community' with their students. The two communities to which they feel felt the strongest affinities, in Gee's sense of the word, were those they actually worked *together with*, rather than merely alongside. Within these groups, they felt respected and empowered and experienced a sense of professional autonomy and agency.

Seen through the lens of Wenger's socio-cultural concepts of 'communities of practice' and 'legitimate peripheral participation', the teacher educators in the study were in the process of undergoing "yet another" upheaval in their professional histories as they renegotiated their way from the margins towards full participation as members of the academic community in reformed or new institutions. The rate of progress (some of them regarded it as regress) towards this re-enculturation varied among the individuals, in part according to their own agency and their own openness to belonging to these new communities. In part, too, the rate of re-enculturation varied according to the extent to which each of them perceived a match between their own professional value systems and those of the communities they were expected to take part in. Their commentary revealed their struggles with the feeling not just that their participation was 'peripheral', but also with not necessarily sharing the dominant community view of what would make such participation 'legitimate'. Nevertheless, their willingness to engage in and learn the cultural norms of their new role definitions and hence revise their professional identity in line with these was gradually evolving. The positions evident ranged from cynicism and active resistance, through "acceptance of the inevitable", to recognition of the opportunities on offer to "grow".

In Bourdieu's terms, they appeared to have simultaneous *membership* of a number of professional communities, but different levels of *identification* with those communities. In other words, they were simultaneously located in a number of different 'fields', but those

fields varied in terms of their hierarchy and the consequent power afforded to them. Mostly, though, the newly constituted institutions in which they now worked were fields or settings that prioritised forms of social,²³ symbolic,²⁴ and cultural²⁵ capital that differed from those operating when they had first established their professional identity as teacher educators in the specialist colleges. There, they had had ‘a place to stand’, but now the sands were shifting. Despite the teacher habitus they had evolved through their years in schools and their further experience as teacher educators in teacher-specialist institutions, and despite their deep-rooted and enduring loyalties to various school communities, their symbolic capital within such fields appeared tenuous at least. The field in which they *were* afforded both symbolic and cultural capital was their professional curriculum work in communities beyond the schools at national and even international level. This capital meant that they were frequently invited to be involved in this work, and just as frequently took up such invitations, even though the work was not the work given the highest priority by their organisations. In such communities and projects, the teacher educators enjoyed wide networks, built up over years, and felt respected and valued for their expertise, experience, and reputations.

In contrast, in the university, the move into a different culture with different norms, had meant for most of them pressure to acquire the requisite skills and dispositions needed to navigate new social structures and relations, to learn new discourses, and to adapt to new power relationships. In short, they felt placed in a position in which they had to reaffirm, re-justify, and even renegotiate their professional identity in the light of these social, symbolic, and cultural norms. They had to decide, again, which groups were ‘us’ and which were ‘them’.

Gee’s various perspectives on Identity also offer a third framework to describe the evolution of an ‘us’ identity among the group. For them, an inevitable consequence of the institutional mergers was the need to renegotiate their place in the institution - their I-Identity. This they had done by engaging additively in a variety of new, more ‘academic’ discourses - D-Identities. Just as their professional identities had, in the past, been shaped by the

²³ Social capital is the “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu, 1983, p. 249)

²⁴ Symbolic capital refers to the resources available to an individual according to the honour-, prestige-, or recognition-based values of a system. Symbolic value functions as an authoritative embodiment of cultural value. While symbolic capital cannot be changed to the other forms of capital (economic, cultural, social), these can also have symbolic value.

²⁵ Cultural capital refers to the knowledge, experiences, and/or cultural connections one acquires through the course of their life and that enables them to succeed more than someone who does not have access to similar experiences, knowledge, education, and networks.

discourses of schooling, curriculum-development-speak, and subject disciplines, which allowed them entry to and ease within these communities, so, too, were their new D-Identities now being shaped as scholars and academics.

For some of the group, the means of acquiring new D-Identities as academics had been through completion of masters and doctorates, alongside taking on internal leadership roles that had the potential to shape existing teacher education programmes and hence strengthen and develop their I-Identities. For Anna, in particular, the shift to a new D-Identity as researcher and academic happened easily and happily as a result of her almost total immersion and credibility in research and research-related responsibilities and roles. Her I-Identity had consequently flourished. Sarah's I-Identity also flourished when she took on a role at the most senior level within her institution, her ability to do so born of her already strong academic D-Identity and A-Identity within the institution. However, for the other members of the group, participation in the new institutional cultures and additional discourses had, at the time I concluded the interviews, not led to a strengthening of their affinities or sense of identification with these communities. For the teacher educators, existing affinities with communities whose group norms, values, interests, and concerns with personal norms, values, and interests, such as curriculum leadership communities and subject associations coincided with their own remained firmly embedded, though under challenge.

Whatever the lens employed to 'view' and describe the group, the key point to emerge from the analysis in this chapter is that the *social* or *collective* aspects of the educators' professional identity was consistently a source of greater ambivalence than the *personal* aspects, an ambivalence located largely in the disconnects between the I-, D- and A-identities. The individuals in the group had, for the most part, a strong sense of the 'I' - 'who I am as a teacher educator', 'the teacher educator I want others to see me as', and 'the teacher educator I see myself as'. It was the sense of 'Us' that was proving more problematic, fractured, dislocated, and in a state of flux for the group, a consequence perhaps of the educators' consciousness of working in the 'spaces in between' professional communities rather than having a recognised or valued space *within* them.

CHAPTER 9. TOWARDS A PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY FOR TEACHER EDUCATION

It is important for the future of any profession that we document and learn from the experiences of those currently in the profession. (Cooper, Ryan, Gay & Perry, 1999, p.143)

The intent of this thesis has been to capture some of the richness and diversity of the individual professional experiences, biographies, beliefs, values, emotional geographies, academic and practitioner knowledges, skills and pedagogies of a group of New Zealand teacher educators working and negotiating their identities within a volatile landscape of political, economic, and institutional upheaval. But it has also been to capture something of the commonalities among their identities as a group, and to capture the richness of their professional identity as a matter of phenomenological ‘essence’ and the ties that bind.

By studying their professional lives, both as individuals and as a collective, I have sought to identify some of the possible ways that the professional lives of teacher educators in New Zealand are being experienced and (re)constructed, and to take at least two steps towards theorising a ‘professional identity’ for teacher education. The first of these steps was to establish, in a more grounded way than is current in the educational literature, a discursive method and framework for eliciting a professional identity. The second was to better crystallise and codify the essential elements or characteristics of the professional identity of the occupational group we call teacher educators.

Investigating a Professional Identity

If we take the notion of professional identity as the ‘valued professional self’, then the work conducted in this thesis suggests that the concept can usefully be examined, analysed, and evoked by interrogating the interview data through a number of particular lenses or perspectives. I organised the thesis by way of five lenses or perspectives that emerged from the pilot phase of the study. These analytical lenses or perspectives thus had their genesis in the matters and topics that the group talked most about when discussing their identities and lives as teacher educators, and they are both differentiated and overlapping. However, taken together, they appeared to constitute a list of what needed to be addressed or taken into account during the study and in any evocation of the thing we call professional identity.

The first lens or perspective that can be used to elicit professional identity focuses on the motivational and professional history dimensions of this identity. It examines a group's professional biographies, their motivations and aspirations on becoming, their transition experiences, and their ongoing, on-the-job development of that identity.

The second analysis perspective focuses on an occupational group's work as a career, a job description, and/or a set of professional tasks. This perspective involves taking a snapshot in time of the work the members of the group describe themselves doing, and of documenting how they prioritise and manage the various roles and functions they take on in their respective institutions.

The third perspective investigates what members of the group identify as their particular professional knowledge and expertise. It accentuates the knowledge base, skills, attitudes, dispositions, personal/professional philosophies and experiences that the group members commonly draw on, prioritise, privilege, and value as their qualification to perform their various specialised functions.

Based on the premise that professional identity is an ongoing symbolic dialogue between the personal self and the professional self, the fourth analytic perspective uses metaphor or other forms of discourse interpretation as a lens to investigate group members' self-image. The focus of this perspective is the affective and self-discursive aspects of a professional identity. As such, it permits examination of the emotional dimensions of the group's description of their possible selves, and the nature of the self-valuing involved in that description.

The final lens is directed specifically at the social and collective aspects of a professional identity. It stands as a reminder that such an identity is not created in isolation from the socio-cultural environments we inhabit or from the distinctive groups of 'others' with whom we interact in our work lives. This perspective investigates group members' collective affinities with one another and the extent of their general sense of group membership. It identifies the communities of thought and practice to which individuals and the group feel more or less connected, and towards whom they feel more or less allegiance and/or sense of accountability.

Our professional identity is thus how we construe and construct our own biographies and prior experiences, our values, beliefs, and dispositions, our motivations and aspirations, our specialist knowledge and abilities, and our group affinities and affiliations. Over time, that identity may be continually (re)shaped and (in)formed by interactions with others and in response to the socio-cultural, historical, and ideological contexts within which we act.

However, as a phenomenon for empirical study, I would argue that a professional identity is *grounded in* how we subjectively and objectively represent the ‘kind of person’ we are and the ‘things we value most’ in our occupational lives, and that this identity can best be *evoked or got at through* a discussion of these matters.

The Professional Identity of Teacher Educators

Identity is connected with “how collective discourses shape personal worlds and how individual voices combine into the voice of a community”. (Sfard & Prusak, 2005, p. 15)

The other key question posed in the thesis was whether there is a distinctive professional identity pertaining specifically to teacher educators and, if so, what might be the commonly expressed and distinguishing characteristics of such an identity.

The analysis of interview transcripts conducted in this study suggest that, despite individual and contextual differences among the group of teacher educators involved, a multidimensional, multilayered, and interweaving set of common and distinguishing characteristics could be identified and made evident. The data suggest that the group’s teacher educator professional identities were richly realised, but still ultimately problematic at both an individual and a collective level. For the nine teacher educators in the study, the identity that emerged was a discernable one, but it was nevertheless an identity ‘on the cusp’.

By synthesising the most common elements of the teacher educator professional identity evoked through the various conversations and narratives of the teacher educators in the previous chapters, I concluded that the group’s professional identity could best be characterised as comprising: an organic comprehensiveness in its scope and required expertise, a broadly conceived but deeply held ethicality of purpose and practice, an embodied pedagogy, and an enduring ambivalence and professional unease about their ‘place in the world’.

Organic comprehensiveness of scope and expertise

Strong evidence emerged in the study to suggest that after the identity shock of the teacher educators’ initial arrival in teacher education, the development of their more enduring professional identities involved an increasing recognition of the complex and multi-faceted nature of their roles, and of their need to expand both their repertoires of professional knowledge and expertise as well as the scope of their job descriptions. Compared to their

experience as school teachers, the group members' work in teacher education involved, as they themselves said, "working on ... different levels", "taking in the much bigger picture" and a "wider view", and "knowing more and more about more and more".

Developing these specialist knowledges, skills, dispositions, and pedagogies derived partly from their personal biographies and practical experience as classroom practitioners, partly from their ongoing reflections on their practice and praxis as teacher educators, and partly from their involvement with propositional theory and research in the academy. This expanded and expansive view of both what they did and what they needed to know as teacher educators involved taking a broader, often additive, view of both.

They had, for example, a more expansive view of their specialist professional knowledge than they had had as teachers, and they saw this knowledge more in terms of professional 'know-how' than of knowledge per se. The propositional knowledge they needed was itself wider than they had needed as teachers. It involved a comprehensive understanding of educational policy and practices. It involved remaining current with all of policy, content, theory, curriculum, and assessment developments, and with professional development initiatives beyond their curriculum specialisms. But even more than that, it was distinctive in its emphasis on expert knowledge as a form of 'know-how'. A teacher educator's expertise encompassed '*knowing that*' and the procedural elements of '*knowing how*', but it also involved significant elements of '*knowing when*', '*knowing why*', '*knowing self*', and '*knowing others*'. As new(er) academics, the experience they described was less one about coming to know more about a narrowing specialist area, than one about developing greater expertise and knowledge in an ever widening range of educational sub-fields. The group also described the scope of the job as bigger, broader, and deeper than that of school teaching. They saw it as straddling many more professional fields and communities than either school teaching or, indeed, the fields and communities implicit in traditional university academic job descriptions.

While there were institutional and individual differences in the relative balance of the tasks they performed and in the specific nature of the work each performed, commonalities emerged. These included straddling or teaching across different sectors, teaching ever-broadening course content, furthering their academic qualifications, and building a research and publication profile. They all performed an amalgam of teaching, scholarly, administrative, and leadership roles inside their institutions, while at the same time maintaining leadership, advisory, editorial, and consultative roles and affiliations with various school-sector communities and national policy groups. They were thus more

‘multiple-mandated’ than ‘Janus-faced’, and whether or not these mandates were self-generated or other-generated, they were nonetheless real and important to them.

This notion of working in multiple professional fields challenges a tendency in the literature to present the scope and mandate of teacher education in binary terms, as well as the related tendency to represent the work scope and expertise of teacher educators in oversimplistic theory/practice, researcher/practitioner, school/academy terms. The teacher educators saw themselves as brokers and intermediaries among the various worlds of school, academy, curriculum development, and leadership - as bridges linking all of theory, practice, research, and national policy - and they felt that it was this facing in these additional directions that differentiated them from most others within their institutions. In similar vein to the argument by some that *in-service* teacher educators occupy ‘a third space’ between theory or research and practice (Coburn, Engle, Silvestre, Stein, Toure, & Yamashita, 2005; Ministry of Education, 2008b; Stein & Coburn, 2005) or ‘third culture’ as Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1999b) describe it, these *pre-service* teacher educators saw themselves occupying a series of hybrid ‘third spaces’ in relation to the various communities and fields in which they worked. They were able to integrate several discourses and draw on both their practitioner and academic knowledges to support the learning of their pre-service students. They were, in this sense, boundary crossers as well as go-betweens among these fields and communities though, as such were often positioned by others as on the peripheries of all and in the centres of none.

This comprehensiveness of scope in their identity was also ‘organic’ in several senses, one of these being the evolutionary nature of this identity. In choosing the word ‘evolution’, I imply the dynamic, shifting, changing, and ever-developing nature of the group’s professional identities as teacher educators - of their being on a journey of constant becoming. The evolving nature of identity has been much discussed in the literature (Britzman, 1993; Clegg, 2008; Flores & Day, 2006; MacLure, 1993a; Sachs, 2001). Not only were the teacher educators’ *knowledges* broadly based, their *mandates* multiple, and their *job descriptions* expanding, but each of these was characterised by constant adaptation and growth, especially in response to changing policies and institutional reforms, along with the group’s tendency to be additive in their responses to all of these. Their metaphor use highlights their gradual “dawning” evolution as teacher educators, as they “knitted together” and “calibrated” new knowledges with and against existing ones. While their transformation into teacher educators took time, and while the roles and tasks associated with this profession were things they learned on the job more than through effective institutional induction, all of

them found that identifying the job's complexities and distinctiveness challenged their entrenched assumptions that the venture was *not* greatly different from teaching and that the identity they had developed as teacher educators was *not* qualitatively different in many important ways from the identity they had formed and continued to reform as school teachers. As teacher educators, they had, in fact, reconstructed their views of their requisite skills and knowledge-base, broadened their job descriptions, changed their functional priorities, renegotiated a place in different kinds of institutions, learned new discourses, taken on new and unaccustomed professional mantles, and connected with a broader range of professional peers and communities.

Also integral to the description of the teacher educators' identities as organic in their comprehensiveness is the idea of ecology. I use this term to denote not only the closely entwined inter-relationships they saw among their many roles but also the inter-dependence among the components of these roles. Most of the them experienced complicated and, at times, competing interactions at the nexuses between themselves as teachers and learners, as teachers and researchers, as expert guides and novices, and as academics and practitioners, as well as the nexuses between the intellectual/academic and the affective/pastoral components of their roles.

But for the group, all of this was also linked. At one level, they saw these many roles if not as symbiotic, then at least as mutually beneficial. For example, their involvement in outside leadership communities fed directly into their teaching and to their perceived credibility in school communities. Their studying for higher qualifications and research enriched their knowledge base for teaching teachers. Their curriculum and assessment professional development work with teachers kept them connected with schools and school learners, just as their work in schools mentoring student teachers on practicum contributed to their understanding of the challenges confronting their students as they applied educational theory and research to their respective practice.

However, at another level, retaining balance among these links was complicated. For example, they found it difficult to re-emphasise any one role except at the expense of another. Privileging the research role afforded less time for teaching and vice versa. While this ongoing conundrum for teacher educators is an international trend (Kosnik & Beck, 2000; Knowles, Cole, & Sumsion, 2000a, 2000b), for this group of teacher educators it was of particular importance given the college of education/university merger contexts. For several of the group, attempting to maintain a high service load outside their institution brought with it potential burn-out. But giving up these valued activities was accompanied by loss and grief.

Achieving balance required complex juggling of priorities and ongoing self-questioning about what was more and less valued in their work - by themselves and by their employers.

The predominant response, at least during the course of this study, had been to accumulate new roles and responsibilities without necessarily shedding old ones, a phenomenon highlighted in the literature (Coaldrake & Stedman, 1999; Robinson & McMillan, 2006). For all of them, this approach had led to serious self-questioning as to whether such an additive disposition is either desirable or sustainable as a form of identity formation or retention. The genesis of this identity dilemma was two-fold. On the one hand, their identity development continued to originate from a high degree of personal agency, where shifts and changes were self-directed and were of a largely organic nature as they enlarged their own self-visions and grafted on new understandings. On the other hand, direct institutional intervention from new and hegemonic cultures with additional and/or different expectations and priorities, or that privileged roles different from what the group themselves had previously valued, were also bringing about shifts and fissures in that professional identity. Arguably, few other academic groups have been as subject to such profound shifts in their professional identity as have teacher educators at this point in New Zealand's educational history.

Ethicality of purpose and practice

The second distinctive characteristic of the professional identities of the teacher educators in the study was their commitment to the ethicalities of the job. 'Ethicality' in this context I take to mean not merely behaving and conducting oneself in accordance with standards deemed appropriate to one's profession, but also its broader meaning of moral purpose and doing social good. A central element in the group's professional identity was their shared conception of teacher education as pervasively 'other'-oriented.

The group saw their service work, for example, as a way of "giving back" and "completing" or "rounding out" their professional life, rather than as a strategically motivated mode of career advancement. Their professional relationships with their students, in particular, were seen to have a strong moral-ethical component (Tom & Valli, 1990). Several spoke of their commitment to the "unseen children" (Guilfoyle, Hamilton, & Pinnegar, 1997) or "kids in schools" as their touchstone when they needed to make difficult decisions about one of their pre-service students. They talked of the importance of modelling dispositions such as risk-taking, suspending judgement, and developing sustainably positive attitudes.

The ethic-of-care or relational caring (Noddings, 1984) that was important to them as teachers was equally important to them as teacher educators, particularly in respect of care as pedagogic action and, in Mayeroff's (1971) sense, of helping others (in this case, their student teachers) grow and actualise themselves. Acker & Feuerverger (1996) argue that Noddings's ethic of care is problematic in higher education, where working with students is overlooked in the reward system and often results in unreasonable workloads. However, because this ethic of care contributed so much to the teacher educators' sense of self, and because of strong social expectations around the 'caring role' for women, particularly, it remained a tenacious aspect of the group's professional identity. Often, they indicated the ways in which they cared about the relationships that they developed with their students and within the communities to which they belonged. Care, for them, was as much about "providing ongoing opportunities ... to grow" as it was about more general pastoral concerns. It was about "growing strong people ... challenging [them] towards growth ... being able to be pushed over the edge and learning to fly." As was noted earlier, it was also about "contextual responsiveness ... We don't just deliver, we respond to them and where they are at the time. It is not like you go into tertiary and you just teach."

The notion of ethical commitment in their definitions of their job and in their descriptions of themselves in that job also implies something about the emotionality of their work and their sense of what they and others *valued* in it. Several in the group expressed frustration, grief, and even anger at institutionally forced changes to their delivery methods. Underpinning these emotions lay not so much a generic occupational conservatism or resistance to change per se, but the belief that the kind and level of change was imposed for reasons of administrative and/or financial expediency only. It threatened deeply held beliefs and values and went against the 'teachings' of their own expert knowledge.

All of the stuff that's happening in terms of change seems premised on the assumption that if you change systems and you put all these things in place, ... [then] everything will be right with the world. But you're actually making such fundamental shifting of people's insides. It's bound to be traumatic. But there's no recognition ... our core value systems are under threat, and I think that when we stand outside and look at ourselves, that some of the reason I am maybe feeling utterly disempowered is because I'm feeling like the values that I've devoted my professional life to, which is the primacy of high quality learning relationships with students, is totally discounted ... Instead, I'm hearing, "I

won't have you doing all this charity teaching," or, "You people are over-teaching, or you must learn to close your doors for students," even though we've got really engaged with our students and we felt good about what we were doing. (Rachel, Interview, 2005)

At a practical level, most in the group believed that a major consequence of such imposed change would be that modelling the effective practice of teaching and implementing the high-quality pedagogies that were the foundation of their professional expertise would be made impossible or, at the least, extremely difficult.

These matters speak to the element of value inherent in the concept of professional identity as the 'valued professional self'. This concept is implicit in many self-studies of teacher educator practice, where teacher educators seek not only to improve their own practice but also to pursue at times seemingly elusive academic legitimacy by examining their practice and making available for scrutiny facets of their pedagogies, dilemmas, struggles, puzzles, confusions, triumphs, and achievements (Berry, 2004). However, as Zembylas (2005) argues, emotionality does not merely consist of "private reactive responses to events" (p. 936). Rather, emotions are socially constructed, organised and managed; they are discursive performative practices that "serve specific purposes in the process of creating and negotiating [a] reality" (p. 937). Issues of power, agency and resistance are therefore inevitably at the centre of a professional identity.

Such was clearly the case for these teacher educators, for whom, in varying ways, strongly positively charged emotional states were integral to how they 'saw themselves' as teacher educators. Emotional states such as delight, euphoria, feeling energised, charged, and alive abounded in their descriptions of their job. The frequent occurrence of words like "high", "thrill", "buzz", all part of a discourse of addiction, implies the emotional hold of their work on them - a hold likely to be a historical and long-standing 'addiction' from their earlier teaching personae in schools.

While they derived varying degrees of satisfaction, fulfilment, and pleasure from *each* of their roles, including service and research, they also experienced a range of negative feelings. In particular, they did not feel that the privileging that they afforded their teaching/pedagogical community-building work (and hence the emotional weighting and power that they accorded it) was recognised or valued by the hegemonic 'others' who ultimately defined their occupational and institutional culture. This was a source of frustration. Pressures such as the perceived need to reprioritise roles and compromise valued

practices and thus take on unaccustomed personae were described as significant sources of tension, frustration, and unease.

Institutionally-led imperatives, for example, to reduce course hours, to adopt lecture-based modes of teaching, to embrace online teaching, to increase class sizes, and to increase research outputs, and the like, often evoked negative emotions of dissatisfaction, guilt, anxiety, cynicism, and feeling professionally discounted. Above all, perhaps, many felt they were now struggling to ‘walk their own talk’. For all of them, to some degree, the recent academisation of teacher education, and the neo-liberal reform of the academy accompanying it, had positioned them in a professional space where they felt diminished/ing agency, diminished professional recognition of their professional knowledge and challenges to it. But at the same time, they also saw this development as providing increased opportunities for new personal/professional growth and career expansion into other areas of knowledge and activity.

Embodied pedagogies

The third distinctive aspect of a teacher educator identity that emerged from the study can best be encapsulated in the idea that this identity is embodied in and through practice. It thus concerns teacher educators’ distinctive commitment to, and valuing of, teacher education as a lived professional life.

I use the notion of ‘embodiment’ here in part to imply an overlapping or close connection between the professional and personal aspects of their professional identities - the ways in which they attempted to personify in their lives as teacher educators certain desirable professional behaviours, attitudes, and qualities. I also use this expression to describe their consciousness of the inherently recursive and nested nature of teacher education as a specialist professional activity.

Several writers argue that, for educators, professional or academic identity is inextricable from, interwoven with, or the same as personal identity (e.g., Palmer, 1998; Ritchie & Wilson, 2000). This was certainly the case for this group. At a meta level, the group spoke of modelling as central to their pedagogy, and of ‘being’ teachers of English/drama/media teachers not just by showing but by genuinely *being* a reader, a theatre and cinema goer, and so on. They were teachers of these teachers by, as they said, “living the life” or “being the lived teacher”. This approach was something that was ‘owned’ and that they integrated into their personal identity/ies. It was not enough for them to ‘tell’; their sense of being a teacher educator was as much about ‘feeling’ as it was about ‘knowing’. As Bella

and Lewis noted, “It’s to do with being the “lived teacher” and with not being able to “separate my identity as a teacher out from my identity as a teacher educator”.

Embodiment was also about their practices, and about being at the cutting edge as pedagogues and leaders. At a classroom level, embodiment for them consisted of being convinced of the importance of ‘walking the talk’ - of being true to their own knowledge about high-quality teaching and learning by exemplifying these in their teaching about teaching. Embodiment consisted of modelling the pedagogies that they taught, not only in the sense of demonstrating exemplary practice but also in the sense of constantly articulating and problematising that practice. Demonstrating and illustrating such complexities within their own practice were key pedagogical strategies. Their pedagogies involved making overt and explicit the practices they were using in order to help student teachers become, in turn, more deliberative and reflective about their own practice. As an ideal or as a representation of their ‘possible selves’, these pedagogies meant making the complex and abstract simple and concrete, and they represented their attempt to align practice with espoused theory.

One thing that distinguishes teacher education from many other academic disciplines is its ‘nested’ nature, its constantly recursive focus on *both* the ‘whats’ of content and ‘hows’ of process. As other studies have pointed out, the work of teacher educators is the work of expert pedagogues and so requires them to operate on multiple metacognitive levels: they not only teach but also teach *about* teaching (Loughran, 2006). Russell (1997) talks of this as the “pedagogical turn” (p. 44) in teacher education. In like fashion, Ethel and McMeniman (2000) describe the process as one in which the expert knowledge of the teacher of teaching is unpacked so as to make it available to student teachers.

Teaching about teaching thus engages teacher educators in a metacognitive level of thinking about the act and the nature of teaching itself that is qualitatively different from that of teachers in schools and other lecturers in universities. In a sense, this difference provides justification for the teacher educators’ self-view as bridges, connectors, links to and embodiments of their own knowledge and beliefs. They were not just finding ways to teach content in meaningful ways but finding ways to teach about teaching content while teaching content and process. They described their teaching as being different from the way they taught in schools largely in terms of recognition of this layering and of its more performative nature. As teacher educators, they were obliged to articulate aspects of teaching practice that are rarely made transparent in other teaching contexts. As they also noted, this approach ideally involved them in problematising the messy acts of teaching and learning and of unpacking its complex ambiguities and contradictions (Loughran, 2006).

In the above senses, the identity of teacher educators might be seen if not unique then certainly atypical in the university because it is fundamentally performative - it is inherently *both* practical and theoretical. It is an embodied amalgam of the two. While it can be argued that other academics - especially, perhaps, those in applied areas - who are conscious of and knowledgeable about their pedagogical knowledge and 'know-how', the charge of *teaching about teaching* is something that makes teacher educators distinctive. As an amalgam, teaching about teaching has distinctive metacognitive layers that are not necessarily inherent in the teaching of other disciplines. Alongside a relative consensus over epistemology, other disciplines might tend to self-define by breaking up their disciplines into specialist sub-content areas. By contrast, teacher educators draw on a variety of epistemologies from other disciplines and self-define by merging content and process.

Ambivalence and professional unease

This final common characteristic of the teacher educators' identities was perhaps the hardest to capture. It relates to and connotes the contradictory attitudes each experienced in relation to new roles and institutions, and their sense of ambiguity about the attitudes they felt that others held towards them. It concerns the levels of internal 'disconnect' that all the group at some point described between the things they valued most and least in themselves as professionals and the things that they perceived that others valued most and least in them.

The tenuous, undervalued place of teacher education within the academy is a common theme in the teacher education literature. It is evident in the metaphors that describe teacher education as "inside/outside the ivory tower" (Maguire, 2000, p.149), as the "Cinderella of academia" (Ham & Kane, 2004 p. 134) or, to repeat a quote from Ducharme (1993) used earlier in this thesis, as "among the least welcome ... guests at the educational lawn party of the establishment of higher education" (p. 3). They are not only the least welcome but they are also, Ducharme continues, among "the most recent guests"(p. 3). This international history of what the academy might call adaptation and enculturation, but which the teacher education community itself tends to refer to as neglect and peripheralisation, forms an interesting backdrop to New Zealand's recent mergers between its colleges of education and its universities and to teacher education's resultant striving for legitimacy within those universities.

Labaree (2008, p. 301) presages challenges for teacher education in the New Zealand university context in his historical overview of the uneasy relationship between teacher education and the academy in the latest edition of the *Handbook of Research on Teacher*

Education. “The primary price that teacher education plays for its affiliation with the university,” he says, “is the potential loss of its professional mission”. He characterises as Faustian the bargain between the university and teacher education, which “has ceded control over its professional programmes, cooperated in undermining the professional quality of these programmes, and allowed these programmes to become marginalised within a university setting that grants them little respect. In return it has been allowed to bask in the glow of the university’s high status” (p. 304)

For the group in this study, and at this point in history, such challenges played out largely as a lack of clarity about where and how they, and indeed the place of teacher education itself, ‘fitted’ within the larger academy. They represented themselves as inhabiting the uncomfortable and indefinable ‘spaces in between’ the worlds of academy, school, policy, and beyond. They felt others positioned them on the peripheries of each, but they saw themselves more as boundary crossers and bridges linking all these communities and cultures together. As new arrivals in the university, they occupied a space on the cusp of academic credibility because of their connection to the world of schools and their perceived naivety in or relative newness to the field of research. However, as academics, they now also occupied a place even more on the margins of the world of schooling as they felt their ever greater distancing from the ‘reality’ of schools further eroding the regard and status that their former teaching experience had afforded them within the schools.

They were also acutely aware of the difficulties they faced in renegotiating an identity as academics, which they tended to regard as a rather mixed blessing. On the one hand, they felt expected to become part of new discourse communities, especially those of relating to educational theory and research, where some felt somewhat tentative and peripheral. On the other hand, they considered that these same communities offered them professionally rewarding opportunities to establish new credibility and to enlarge their professional skills and vision. But most of all, they felt torn by the ever-broadening scope of their activity, roles, and required professional expertise, and by a sense that adopting these meant struggling to protect valued teaching orientations, to preserve their focus on student teachers and schools, and to sustain long-felt loyalties to curriculum and leadership communities.

A Professional Identity for Teacher Educators?

So, is there a professional identity for teacher educators? Can we find some consensus or commonality about what the nine participants in this study saw as their professional ‘place to

stand' and about the things they 'stood for'? As Clifford and Guthrie (1988) remind us, the costs for teacher educators of juggling their manifold and contradictory responsibilities and ambivalent loyalties may be considerable, and "the more forcefully [they] have rowed towards the shores of scholarly research, the more distant they have become from the public schools they are duty bound to serve" (p. 3). But such binary descriptions do neither justice to the complexity of teacher educators' lives nor acknowledge the more positive, constructive aspects of their own sense of the value and the 'place' of what they do.

In their attempt to synthesise a collective identity for school teachers, Day, Elliott, & Kington (2005) suggest that this identity is currently characterised by a sense of diminishing agency, of a 'golden age' coming to an end, by an awareness of constant change, and by a sense of ambitions and ideals being abandoned. Day and colleagues position these characteristics alongside the more usually identified ones of a strong ethic of care, a commitment to subject knowledge, and community affinities with learners and collegial peers.

The findings of this thesis suggest that, at least in the contexts studied, some of these characteristics apply as much to teacher educators as they do to school teachers. There is, for example, the same ethicality, service mentality, and motivation to 'do good', 'give back,' and 'make a difference'. However, they also suggest that there are a number of important differences and that a teacher educator's professional identity is not simply a school teacher's professional identity transplanted to the academy. There is, in respect of teacher educators, a greater comprehensiveness in job-scope and in the professional knowledge base and specific expertise required. While school teaching and teacher education share the same sense of the ecological connectedness of pedagogical action and the unity of teaching and learning, teacher educators have a greater commitment than school teachers to embodying, articulating, and critiquing those connections and that unity. Both professions have the same perception of diminishing agency and lack of public recognition, but teacher educators have a greater sense of their multiple mandates and their ambivalent affinities with more - and more influential - communities of thought and practice; and, perhaps, therefore, an even greater sense of occupational unease in relation to all of the above.

The continuing need to negotiate among competing mandates, to adopt new roles and tasks, and to adapt to changing institutional expectations created in the group significant feelings of cognitive and affective dissonance as they worked to (re)constitute their valued professional selves over the period of the study. Collectively and individually, the professional identity of the group was, and will continue to be, 'on the cusp' of becoming

Below is a *wordle* or *word cloud*, which I have created from the text of all interview extracts cited in the study. My intention is to bring the reader back to what this writing has been about - the voices of the nine teacher educators who opened up their professional lives and shared their stories with me and, hopefully, through the writing of this thesis, with a wider education community.

[illegible]

(Created on <http://www.wordle.net>, 7 December 2009)

Provocations and Implications

Higher education is facing a crisis, which in part at least is a crisis of professional self-identity. (Nixon, 1996, p. 5)

Paying detailed attention to how changes are being experienced is an important element in theorising what is happening inside the university sector. (Clegg, 2008a, p. 343).

For policy

The past 15 years have seen four high-level reviews of teacher education provision in New Zealand, but there is currently still no national policy as such on teacher education. While there are incidental commonalities in the teacher education curriculums provided by the various institutions accredited to offer teacher education, there are also major incongruities across these curriculums and between what they and international research are establishing that neophyte teachers need to know how to do (Darling-Hammond & Bransford, 2005). There are also incongruities between the latter and the methods institutions often implement to teach these teachers how to teach. The *ad hoc* reform of teacher education (most obviously, but not solely, symbolised by the dissolution of specialist colleges of education and the absorption of teacher education into the universities) appears to have been a pragmatic response to fiscal constraint rather than the consequence of a deeply considered review of teacher education's fitness for purpose.

In New Zealand, at least, we have not yet had a robust public debate about what society requires of teacher education, where it is best placed, or what constitutes quality in its provision. Instead, national policy appears to have been seemingly constituted as pragmatic, market-forces-driven decisions related to the number of providers that can be accredited nationally, the relative opening up or closing down of accreditation to private enterprise, the size and nature of funding windows, and the like (Jesson, 2000; Alcorn, 1999; 2005). High-level discussion about what forms of teacher education might be best suited to address the 'long tail' of, particularly Māori and Pasifika, educational underachievement, or what kind of *teacher education* might be most relevant in order to implement New Zealand's educational strategic plans,²⁶ has been noticeably absent from the debate on teacher education.

²⁶ Such documents include the key competencies-based *New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007), *Ka Hikitia* (Ministry of Education, 2008) with it focus on Māori education, and the *Pasifika Education Plan* (Ministry of Education, 2009).

If culture and identity, that is, people and their values, matter in 21st-century schools (Bishop & Glynn, 2003; Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh, & Teddy 2009), then they also matter in 21st-century teacher education. How the teacher education programmes and practices of universities and other providers deal with the issue of their own educational culture will significantly affect the quality of teachers entering the profession in the coming century, and on the ability of schools to provide high-quality learning outcomes and experiences for children. This thesis offers the kernel of such an educational culture insofar as it represents the ideals of those working in the field, and what *they* at least believe could constitute the kind of quality teacher education needed to achieve high-level education policy goals.

For institutions

The findings of this thesis also suggest that within the profession of teacher education there is significant anxiety that the move to academise teacher education will come at the expense of its quality and professional mission, and will involve an undervaluing of the rich practice-based experience that gives the teacher education community credibility and that has characterised its history to date.

One cannot help but note, too, the irony that just as New Zealand is relocating teacher education into the universities, this very model has come under increasing critique elsewhere. In Australia, for example, Smith (2000) has argued that claims that universities are clearing houses for powerful knowledge about teaching and curriculum are no longer credible, and that university-based teacher education cannot easily survive. Writers in other areas of higher education also report the increased fracturing, expansion, diversification, and proliferation of roles and changing conditions of academic work in higher education (Harris, 2005; Marginson, 2000; Nixon, 1996, Stronach, Corbin, Stark, & Warne, 2002; Watty, 2006). Similar concerns about teacher education suffering a long-term alienation effect from schools, the failure of reformed university-based teacher education to improve the quality of beginning teachers, and the undermining of teacher education's ability to 'walk its own talk' as a recognised expert knowledge-base are being voiced in the US (Clifford & Guthrie, 1988; Labaree, 2008), where teacher educators are seemingly "caught in a world of ill-conceived and often contradictory policies and practices" (Sindelar & Rosenberg, 2000, p. 188).

At the institutional level, the findings of this thesis also suggest that current induction and professional development practices for teacher educators are inadequate. This concern highlights the problematic nature of the historical practice of recruiting teacher educators directly from schools with little or no regard for the specialist expertise required, and the

inadequacy of the systems and processes in place for them to acquire such expertise either before or after entry into the job. Teacher educators are often thrown in the deep end, without appropriate support or formal preparation (Buchberger, Campos, Kallos, & Stephenson, 2000; Guilfoyle, Hamilton, Pinnegar & Placier, 1995; Wilson, 1990), with patchy attention paid to or inconsistent induction processes (Martinez, 2008; Murray, 2005a), and with little consideration of what might constitute a curriculum for teacher educators to support them in their complex work (Cochran-Smith, 2003a).

Murray and Male (2005) discuss the struggles faced by new teacher educators as they move from being *first-order* practitioners (school teachers) to *second-order* practitioners (teacher educators) and are therefore required to redefine their professional identities. Zeichner (2005, p. 123) concludes that "... if teacher education is to be taken more seriously in colleges and universities, then the preparation of new school and university-based teacher educators needs to be taken more seriously as well." The findings of this thesis suggest that one way of taking such preparation more seriously is to ground it in developing a professional identity specific to teacher educators - to recognise that there *are* specific skills and knowledge and abilities involved in being a teacher educator and to acknowledge that these attributes are not commensurate with simply being a good school teacher or with being a competent educational researcher but rather are broader than and include both. Neither one, it seems, is sufficient preparation for the job in itself.

In the absence of formal pathways to, or preparation for, gaining a position as a teacher educator, teacher educators are likely to continue to learn much of their craft on the job, and will continue to require employing institutions to structure their induction and professional development accordingly. In the New Zealand context, particularly in light of recent mergers, there are clear challenges ahead with regard to both what may be lost and what may be gained if universities increasingly recruit their teacher educators via an academic pathway.

For teacher education

Most of all, perhaps, the findings of this thesis have implications for the 'profession' of teacher education itself. Labaree (2008) and others have stated that, in the US, one of the reasons for locating teacher education in the academy has been to raise its status and gain it recognition as a bona fide discipline or field. If that is the case, then I would argue that both the academy and the teacher education community would seem to have failed in this respect. On the one hand, the academy has shown little sign of changing its traditional educational practices and priorities in order to accommodate the distinctive nature of teacher education as

a discipline. On the other hand, teacher education may not yet have articulated itself well as a discipline worthy of such distinctive status. Additionally, in a climate where existing academic identities are already in a state of flux, the ‘double whammy’ of newness in the academy has added for many New Zealand teacher educators another layer of complexity and anxiety concerning their status as recent arrivals struggling for legitimacy.

It is often said in both the schools and in the academy that teacher educators are somehow no longer real teachers and less than real academics. Yet such deficit discourses were not present among the teacher educators in this study. Their self-image, by contrast, consisted of seeing themselves not as *less* than a teacher or *less* than an academic, but as *more* than both. A composite, more than a compromise. Not ‘neither, nor’, but rather ‘both, and’. Their identity crisis, if they had one, lay not in having a confused self-identity, but in their sense that what they most valued in themselves as professionals was apparently no longer valued in them by others.

When Zeichner (2007) challenged the teacher education research community to get ‘beyond the story’, he was enjoining that community to better theorise its pedagogy and to better articulate itself as a distinctive body of knowledge or way of knowing. He was, in short, challenging teacher education to better theorise and assert its professional *identity* as an academic discipline or field. In teacher education, such a theory cannot be developed without healthy debate about what counts in the academy as desirable forms of knowledge, and about the most appropriate skills and pedagogical expertise needed to create and disseminate such knowledge. But nor can such a theory of teacher education be developed without at least some consideration of the nature of teacher educators themselves as professional beings; without some consideration of where teacher educators ‘stand’ in the world, and what they regard as the social and intellectual worth of what they do. By investigating the professional identities of some of those who work in the field, this thesis has taken a further step towards articulating that ‘place to stand’ for teacher education as a whole.

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